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Researches

PURCHASED

SOUTH INDIA UNDER THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

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INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

SOUTH INDIA UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

The Aravidu Dynasty

HERAS H.

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PREFACE

Father H. Heras, S. J., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has already distinguished himself in promoting knowledge of the history of Central and South India by two original papers in the *Indian Antiquary* on "The Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh" and on the "City of Jinji." He has now set himself to elucidate the history of Vijayanagara in the time of its fourth and last dynasty, that is, during the period 1542-1770 of the Christian era—a period but lightly touched on in Mr. Sewell's well-known history of Vijayanagara—*A Forgotten Empire*.

The period is, however, a very important one in the story of Hinduism, and it covers also that of the rise of European power in India—Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English—and of the struggles of the various European nations for supremacy, ending in the final victory of the English over all others. It was further a period of great Jesuit activity and of the general spread of modern European Christianity in South India. These considerations alone attest the value of its exhaustive study and the interest it cannot fail to arouse in all European students of the Indian Empire.

It is, however, a period of great difficulty, owing to the constant and varying struggle between Hindu Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan on the one hand, and on the other of never-ending local difficulties of fighting caused by the Vijayanagara system of governing through Viceroys, who were practically independent kings in their restricted territories and appeared as such to visiting Europeans, while the representatives of European powers took sides and joined in the general *mêlée*. History thus appears as an almost hopeless jumble of local struggle, and indeed it

requires no small research to put together the pieces of the puzzle, so that the reader has before him an intelligible account of the happenings at a period of Indian history of the first importance to those who would understand the conditions of to-day.

This great task Father Heras has undertaken, to my mind in the manner in which it should be undertaken. He goes into the causes which led to the conditions that brought the last Vijayanagara Dynasty—the Aravidu—into existence, and then writes up the history of it from original unpublished documents, as well as from the books on the subject, and in a long appendix he gives the unpublished documents themselves in their original languages. History cannot be more fairly presented.

Such is the method of Father Heras in attacking his subject and in this first volume we find that he commences with an account of the reigns of the last rulers of the Third Dynasty—the Tuluva—so as to show how the Aravidu family stepped quietly into its place in the person of the Aravidu minister, Rāma Rāya of Sadāsiva Rāya, the last Emperor of the Third Dynasty. He then gives an account of the administration of Vijayanagara under Rāma Rāya, the maintenance of Hinduism, and the foreign policy, especially as regards the Portuguese. As regards Rāma Rāya's clever and tortuous dealings with the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan, a whole chapter is devoted to them.

Father Heras then harks back to South Indian History to explain the early Telugu invasions of the Tamil country, ending with the establishment of Viswanātha Nāyaka as Nāyak (king) of Madura and the story of his successors—introducing incidentally the doings of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit leaders. This is followed by an account of the Nāyaks of Tanjore, Jinji and Ikeri (the very name of which last once great city has since disappeared from the general Indian maps), and of the Rājas of Mysore and other

Feudatory Chiefs, including the obscure and curious Queens of Bhatkāl and Ullāl.

These minor considerations bring us back to the struggle between the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara and the Deccani Muhammadans, ending with their victory at the battle of Rakasa-Tagdi, the execution of Rāma Rāya and the end of the Tuluva Dynasty. This brings the Aravidu Tirumala, Rāma Rāya's brother, to the Vijayanagara throne and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda, giving the death blow to Portuguese commerce in India. His short reign thereafter was necessarily a time of confusion and trouble and constant struggles with the Muhammadans to the North of him. He was succeeded by Sri Ranga I, who kept the capital at Penukonda and fought back the Muhammadans. Under these rulers three Viceroyalties were established respectively over the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries, to the story of which Father Heras devotes two chapters, with details of Portuguese interference with their affairs.

History then deals with the affairs of Venkatapatideva Rāya (Venkata II), still at Penukonda, and with his struggles with his feudatory chiefs, and also with the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura, giving an account of that feudatory dynasty. At this point comes in the story of Father Roberto de Nobili and his unusual behaviour, of which one is glad to have an orderly account.

Venkata II had further many dealings with the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Jinji, the Kanarese Viceroy, the Rāja of Mysore, the Nāyak of Ikeri, and other chieftains, in which the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Jesuits were mixed up. Besides describing these Father Heras gives us an account of the dealings of Venkata II directly with the Portuguese, Dutch and English of the day, and a separate account of the Jesuits at his Court.

The volume then goes into minor, but yet important matters such as those of painting at Venkata II's court, especially by Jesuit Fathers, his family affairs and literary activity under the first Aravidu sovereigns. Finally the volume winds up with a most valuable chapter on the struggle of Sri Vaishnavism with other Hindu sects.

The above very brief *resumé* of Father Heras's first volume is sufficient to show what it covers and how the writer has kept the many conflicting items of history apart, so that they can be absorbed by the student without confusion of mind.

R. C. TEMPLE

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CHAPTER XVII

THE NAYAKSHIP OF MADURA

SUMMARY.—1. Behaviour of Virappa Nayaka towards Venkata II.—2. Virappa's death. 3. Short reign of Visvappa Nayaka.—4 Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka II. Death of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.—5. Krishnappa's piety. His war with Travancore and relations with the Pandyas.—6. His rebellion against Vijayanagara.—7. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka II. Short reign of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.—8. Accesion of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka. His action in the Fishery Coast.—9 Establishment of the Dynasty of the Setupatis at Ramnad.—10. The reign of Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati.—11. Friendly relations between Muttu Krishnappa and Venkata II.—12. His successor Muttu Virappa Nayaka.—13. War between Madura and Vijayanagara.—14. War between Madura and Tanjore.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Pandyan Chronicle, Supplementary MSS., Mrtyunjaya MSS., History of the Karnataka Governors, Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis.*—3. Jesuit letters.—4. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—5. Du Jarric.—6. Anquetil du Perron.—7. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali.*

THE southern throne was still in possession of the grandson of Visvanatha, Virappa Nayaka. After the defeat sustained by his forces in the battle of Vallaprakara at the hands of Venkata, while Viceroy of the Tamil country [1], Virappa rendered unwilling submission to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, as several inscriptions of the first years of Venkata's reign prove. In 1586, Virappa requested and obtained from Venkata the Dalavay Agraharam plates, by which the village Ganga Varappatti with other villages around were given to a number of Brahmans. The plates say that Virappa was then 'living gloriously' [2]. An inscription of 1588 of Venkata himself at Pirammalai, Tiruppattur, Ramnad, shows that his sovereignty was at that time acknowledged in the Madura

1. Cf. Ch. XIII, No. 4.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 41-66 and 67-79.

country [1]. Another inscription of the same year, at Erode, records a grant of Virappa, as Venkata's subordinate [2]. In 1590 Venkata, while at Kumbakonam, granted some villages in the Tinnevelly district to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of a certain Krishna Das [3]; this also shows that his jurisdiction over the Madura country was unquestioned. Then in 1592 the Emperor made another grant to a temple at Tirukkurungudi, also in the Tinnevelly district [4]. But suddenly such acknowledgements of Venkata's suzerainty over the South are no more found. What is the cause of this interruption?

Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar says that there is no doubt about Virappa's loyalty to Venkata [5]. But we are sure that on this occasion the former's rebellion, recorded in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, took place. Anquetil du Perron says that before the year 1595, the Madura Nayaka refused to pay due homage to the Emperor of Vijayanagara on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign [6]. This cannot be understood to refer to Virappa's first rebellion which took place about 1583. For then Venkata was merely Viceroy of the Tamil country; moreover both sources, the French traveller and the Hindu poem, state that at the time of this rebellion of the Madura Nayak, Venkata was already seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara.

Again, Anquetil du Perron informs us that the first manifestation of this rebellion was the refusal to pay the tribute [7]. At once "Venkatapati Raya declared war against Virappa Nayaka of Madura", says the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, "and laid siege to the fort of Madura with a large army" [8]. The subseqent details given by this poem are not at all

1. Sewell, I, p. 297; Rangacharya, II, p. 1189, 223.
2. 13 of 1891.
3. Sewell, II, p. 3.
4. Ibid., I, p. 315.
5. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 61.
6. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This rebellion or the following one of Krishnappa II is mentioned in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.
7. Ibid.
8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302-3.

trustworthy [1]. But Anquetil du Perron records the forcible submission of the Nayak before 1595 [2], which means a second defeat of Virappa by the imperial army.

2. In the beginning of September of the same year, 1595 Virappa Nayaka died after a reign of 22 years and several months [3]. His last known inscription, dated 1594, records the building of the temple of Kadirinaga Perumal and of a tank by his agent [4]. During his reign a *mandapa* was constructed in the Sundaresvara temple at Madura in 1582 [5]; and he is said to have "levied tribute from every country" [6]. His right-hand man in Government affairs, according to the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya, was Tirumalairaja [7]. This chief's grandfather was Rama Nayaka, and his father Timma Nayaka. He was the chief of Chintalapalli, and a great devotee of the god Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam; he was brave in war, generous, just and courteous [8]. We have

1. Accorrding to this poem, "Virappa Nayaka managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army. Tirumala Raya, the Emperor's nephew, was also one of those who accepted the bribe and, without continuing the siege of Madura, retired to the capital of his own viceroyalty to Seringapatam". Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 19 and p. 248, note; and Mr. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67, admit this account without further discussion. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 17; p. 81, note 17, and p. 99, note 9, where Dr. Krishnaswami gives a similar account of the course of events. This account is quite inconsistent with the information given by Anquetil du Perron, *viz.* the submission of the Nayak, confirmed by the inscriptions of his successor Krishnappa II, early in 1595. Neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army; for he would have been too young then for such a task. The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Raja Wodeyar's capture of Seringapatam. "Hearing of these events", continues the poem, "the Mysore chief Raja Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty". l. c. Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura. Fourteen years separate these two events.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

3. *Mrityunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 83.

4. 470 of 1907.

5. 35 of 1906.

6. 470 of 1907.

7. *T.A.S.*, I, p. 61-2.

8. Ibid., p. 84, vv. 61-67.

seen him opposing Venkata's army at Vallaprakara. His activity in the government of Madura was probably due to the old age of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.

Virappa continued his predecessor's policy with the Pandyas. About 1583, his officer Tirumalairaja obtained from Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya the grant of the village of Pudukkottai for a number of Brahmans [1]. The whole text of the grant shows a most intimate friendship between the Madura Nayak and the representatives of the old rulers of the Pandya country.

3. Periya Virappa Nayaka "had three sons, who were named respecively Visvappa Naicher, Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher. Among these, Visvappa Naicher was crowned" [2]. Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the succession to the throne of Madura after the death of Virappa Nayaka. We can no longer entertain any doubt about the existence of this intermediate king between Virappa and Krishnappa II. The *Supplementary MSS.* also mention Visiappa or Visvappa as having ruled after the death of his father, and as having been succeeded by his younger brother, Kumara Krishnappa [3]. His statue under the name of Visvama Nayaka may also be seen, though misplaced, among the statues of the Nayaks, in the famous Tirumala's *Pudu Mandapa* at Madura [4]. The aforesaid *History* states that 'his brother Kumara Krishnappa Naicher was second to him in power'. This does not mean that both brothers were Kings, as Mr. Rangachari assumes [5]. Only one, Visvappa, is said to have been crowned; while Krishnappa was, during the life of his brother, only *Chinna Dorai*, 'associated in the government'.

1. Ibid., p. 84, vv. 68-77.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25.

3. Ibid., I, p. 205. In one of *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Ibid., II, p. 260, Visvappa is called the younger brother of Krishnappa II.

4. The inscription over the fourth of these statues is damaged and illegible; but it cannot be other than the name of Visvanatha, Periya Krishnappa's brother. Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 212.

5. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*,, *Ind. Ant*, XLV, p. 81.

Visvappa Nayaka's reign must have been short. The Tamil chronicles mentioned above do not give any date; but since Krishnappa is mentioned in the future inscriptions we may conclude that Visvappa's reign had ended. In an inscription of 1696 Kumara Krishnappa appears as ruling over Madura [1]; and in a copper-plate grant of 1597 the same Kumara Krishnappa is styled 'the Pandya King' [2].

4. "After this", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "the crown devolved on Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was his second in power" [3]. Kasturi was then only 'associated in the Government.' The most notable event that occurred during the reign of Krishnappa II was the death of his minister, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar. While Krishnappa was ruling, Ariyanatha is said, in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, to have 'delivered up both seal-rings to his lord and obtained the world of Siva (*i. e.* died)' [4]. The date given by this chronicle corresponds to April 19th, 1588, which is clearly wrong, as the same MSS. place his demise in the reign of Kumara Krishnappa II. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar gives the year 1600 as an approximate date for Ariyanatha's end [5].

We read in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* that Ariyanatha Mudaliyar "held the united offices of minister and generalissimo during four reigns, or thirty-eight years and nine months" [6]. I feel sure that the power and efficiency of Ariyanatha in the Government of Madura have been hitherto exaggerated. Mr. Rangachari describes him as the real sovereign of the southern country [7]. Such a mistake comes probably from Ariyanatha's account in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* That document is a

1. 404 of 1907.
2. Sewell, II, p. 19.
3. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25. Kumara Krishnappa's statue is placed in Tirumala's choultrie before the one of Visvappa, under the name of Lingama Nayaka, which seems to be another name of Kumara Krishnappa. Cf. Nelson, p. 107.
4. Ibid., p. 119.
5. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 86.
6. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 119.
7. Rangachari, o. c., *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91.

panegyric on this minister very far from the truth, as we have already remarked a little above. The story of his appointment as Emperor of Vijayanagara by the dying sovereign Rama Raya on the battlefield of Raksas-Tagdi, and of the subsequent undertakings of Ariyanatha, is evidently false. Such a document is not at all trustworthy when praising its hero, specially as there is absolutely no evidence of his dominating influence. Moreover the silence of the inscriptions about him, specially in the reign of Virappa Nayaka (who is described by Mr. Rangachari as a puppet in the minister's hands) is worth considering while writing the history of Madura. I am however far from denying the general influence of Ariyanatha throughout the Pandya country as the prime minister of four successive Nayaks. His architectonic works are still an enduring proof of his efficiency in his post. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, say that he 'constructed thousand-pillared choultries in Madura, Tinnevelly and other places' [1]. His equestrian statue at the entrance of the thousand-pillared *mandapa* of the famous temple at Madura is the most evident proof of Ar anatha's power, under the first Nayak of Madura.

5. Krishnappa Nayaka II is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, to have been a very pious monarch: "He gave to the god Rangapati a *kavacha* studded with precious stones, a similarly bejewelled *ushnisha*, yellow silk garments, neck-laces, crown, earrings, waist-zones, and presented him further with villages and gardens, and made arrangements for the celebration of car festivals and the daily services. He set up a number of lights in the presence of the god Sundara Nayaka; made arrangements for bathing the image of the god in milk and for the car festival...He performed the ceremony of weighing himself against gold...he founded *agraharas* for Brahmans and protected them; he paid the Brahmans enough money to enable them thereby to redeem their lands situated in the countries of other kings, which were mortgaged for the purposes of paying taxes" [2].

Fr. Pimenta, who knew him personally, gives another proof

1. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 111.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.

of his piety. " Hee daily sits in judgment," says he, "a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whinet out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa (Ranganatha); and when one is weary another succeedeth and continueth that exclamation, though hee sits six houres " [1].

In the same Vellangudi plates, and again in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, he is called 'the conqueror *or* taker of the army of Panchar Tiruvadi' [2]. Fr. Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor who, in the year 1596, passed through Travancore, relates that the king of Travancore had "certified to us that the king of Madura was coming against him with seventy thousand armed men and many elephants " [3]. Three years later, in 1599, when the Archbishop of Goa, Frey Aleixo de Menezes, was in Malabar, he could not meet the king of Travancore, who " was at the frontier of his kingdom, defending it against the attacks of the Nayque of Madura (the Madura Nayak)" [4]. The same account states a little later that this war was made towards the South of the Travancore kingdom [5]. We do not know the result of this war, which was probably due to the refusal of the Travancore king to pay the tribute; but we deduce that the Madura Nayak was victorious, from the fact that Fr. Barradas, writing from Cochin on December 12th, 1616, says that the king of Travancore is under the Nayak of Madura [6].

The relations between the Pandyas and the ruling family of Madura continued most friendly. The Pandya prince Abhirama Ativirarama, had a chief named Ayyakarappa, son of Peddappa and grandson of Nagama Nayaka, who bore the title of Kanchipuradhisa, being probably a nephew of Visvanatha Nayaka. At his request the aforesaid Pandya granted two

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219.
2. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 227, vv. 67-77.
3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 206. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 627.
4. Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p. 37.
5. Ibid., p. 95 back.
6. Sewell, p. 230.

villages, Muvaraikondram and Sattaleri, naming them Peddappanayaksamudram, to sixty-nine Brahmans, on October 2nd, 1593 [1]. Some years later the same Pandya, at the request of Ramakrishnappa Nayaka who was 'sitting on the lion throne of Vallabha Narendra,' granted the village of Nadikkudi, under the name of Ativiraramapura, to a number of Brahmans [2]. Ativirarama acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II, as an inscription of the year 1595, recording a grant of a piece of land to three private persons, proves [3].

6. In the beginning of his reign Krishnappa II appears as faithful feudatory of Venkata II. In 1597 Venkatapati, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka, who is styled 'King Krishna, the Pandya King', issued a grant of the two villages Marudangudi and Karupuram in the Madura district to several

1. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 33.

2. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Ativirarama Pandya, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 134; Sewell, II, p. 31.

3. 615 of 1915. The above-mentioned account of the travels of Archbishop Menezes through Malabar gives some interesting details about this Pandya King and his dealings with the Christians. He is called by Fr. Gouvea Punhati Perumal, but must be identified with Ativirarama, the then ruling Pandya, because of the following words of the same author: "Oqual Rey foy antigamente senhor do Pando (Pandya), mas co guerras que teue com o Naique de Mandurce, veyo a estas serras, & na falda dellas comprou muitas serras (terras?) ao Rey de Tecacutes (?) aonde agora mora, posto que inda lhe obedecem algus pouos no Pando". It happened at this time that a tribe called of the *Malleas*, who were under his dominion, wished to become Christians. They requested an *olla* from the Pandya King, securing them from molestation on account of their conversion. The *olla* was duly obtained through the influence of an old Christian who 'was the chairman of his council'. This *olla* caused great excitement among the courtiers and Brahmans of the Pandya sovereign. They told him that the neighbouring kings were ready to wage war with him, if the *olla* were not cancelled; and the king of Tuṟugurc (a palaiyakaran) would also cause damage to the Pandya King's territory, by diverting the course of a river that was the source of much fertility to it. The mother of the Pandya sovereign was the first to try this *olla* revoked; but the King always replied that 'he would never revoke

Vaishnava Brahmans [1]. In 1598 Krishnappa obtained from Venkata, who is acknowledged the paramount sovereign and original donor, the village of Padmaneri, surnamed Tirumalambapuram, for a number of Brahmans, most of whom were well versed in the Vedas [2]. In this grant of Venkata, Kumara Krishnappa is called 'Lord of the southern Ocean' [3]. In the same year the Emperor, again at the request of Krishnappa, granted as an agrahara to a large number of Brahmans and Brahman ladies, the village of Vellangudi with five others around it [4]. But in the year 1599 Krishnappa II again withheld the payment of tribute; and Venkata himself had to march against him. "Hee (Venkata)", says Fr Pimenta, "was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure" [5].

Fr. Du Jarric gives some more information about this war. From his narrative, it is certain that Venkata himself took the supreme command of his army against the Nayak of Madura. Probably one of his generals was Mátta Ananta, who is said in the Sidhout inscription of 1605 to have 'led the campaign against the king of Madura' [6]. Krishnappa, seeing himself unable to fight against the imperial army, agreed to an un-

what he had once promised to Archbishop Menezes'. As a matter of fact, some subjects of the Pandya King, called *Mouros* (Muhammadans) by Gouvea, proceeded to the court of the king of the Tecankutes (sic), and finally succeeded in inducing this chief to threaten Punhati Perumal. A letter of the former against Perumal is mentioned by Gouvea, but no action between them is recorded. Most likely the Pandya sovereign apologized, and the false accusations of his subjects were unmasked. Gouvea relates that the Christian church of the Malleas was finally completed in spite of great difficulties. Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p. 82 back.

1. Sewell, II, p. 19; Rangacharya, II, p. 1002, 91.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 288-9, and p. 297, vv. 45-57.
3. Ibid., p. 297, vv. 67-77.
4. Ibid., p. 320-1, and p. 302.
5. From Fr. N. Pimenta, to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210.
6. *M. E. R., 1916*, para 75. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248-9, translates this passage as follows: "He protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction." This version is inconsistent with the loyalty of this chief.

conditional submission to Venkata. He was on this occasion made to pay something more than the usual annual tribute, *viz.* twelve millions of gold coins; for to the ordinary tribute was added a war indemnity [1].

7. After a short reign, Krishnappa Nayaka II died between May and June of 1601, according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* [2]. Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, who was at this time travelling through southern India, informs us that a few days after his arrival at Madura. "the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief," he continues, "had 700 wives, and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire" [3]. An inscription of 1600 at Sermadevi seems to be the last one of his reign; it mentions Murti Settiyar, an agent of Krishnappa Nayaka [4]. He had been seriously ill in the beginning of his reign, about the end of 1597. After his recovery he retired to a country house, in a delightful place far from the crowds of the city, ostensibly for the sake of health [5]. But Fr. Pimenta, who passed through Madura a little after Krishnappa's retirement, gives another reason: "The Naichus of Madure is very superstitious, and resigned his Palace to his Idol Chichanada upon the authority of a Priest who said the Idol by night had bidden him tell the King that he or I must dwell in this house" [6].

Krishnappa II had a son; but according to the *Pandyan Chronicle* he had died before his father [7]. There was also a

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-6.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, o. c., p. 87.

3. *Majalisu-s Salatin*, Elliot, VII, p. 139. The author does not give the date of his visit to Madura. Anyhow we know that the work was compiled in his old age in 1628. Now in his journey to Madura he was accompanied by his father. Hence he could not be then more than 35 years of age. Now supposing that he was about 60 when his book was compiled, he was about 33 when Krishnappa Nayaka II died. We therefore conclude that this Krishnappa Nayaka was the ruler referred to by Sharif Hanafi.

4. 717 of 1916.

5. Du Jarric, I, p. 649.

6. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219.

7. Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.

son of the eldest brother, Visvappa [1]; but since he was a child [2], or perhaps, a young man, his uncle 'Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was crowned' [3]. Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the successor to the throne of Madura after the death of Krishnappa II. Both the *Pandyan Chronicle* [4] and the *Supplementary MSS.*, support this [5] and no confirmation was needed from Kasturi's statue, which stands in Tirumala's choultrie at Madura immediately before the one of Mutu Krishnappa.

We cannot say how long Kasturi's reign lasted. Both the *Supplementary MSS.*, [6] and the *History of the Karnataka Governors* [7] affirm that he reigned seven years; but then there would be no room for Muttu Krishnappa, his nephew, who died in 1608. Hence we prefer to admit the authority of the *Pandyan Chronicle*, which also gives more details about his end. According to it "Kasturi Rangappa, after having been crowned, died eight days afterwards...on the opposite bank (of the river Vygai), where he was residing" [8].

8. After Kasturi's death Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, son of Visvappa Nayaka, ascended the Pandya throne [9]. One of the first things intended by the new King of Madura in 1603-4 was to oppress with new taxes the Paravas of the Fishery Coast. During the reign of Krishnappa Nayaka II these poor Christians had been tyranically treated by two

1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, o.c., II, p. 260; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 239. The *Pandyan Chronicle* does not state whose son he was. The *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o.c., II, p. 25, and the *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206, make him son of Krishnappa Nayaka II. The first opinion seems however the most founded.

2. *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, o.c., I, p. 206; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 25.

3. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, l. c.

4. Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.

5. Ibid., p. 206.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., II, p. 25.

8. Ibid., I, p. 38.

9. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Ibid., *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 25; *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206.

Palaiyakarans of the neighbourhood. One is styled in th Jesuit sources 'King of Tuticurin'. The Paravas of the neighbourhood also used to pay him an annual tribute. But when this chief demanded from the poor folk of Tuticorin a heavier sum, the latter refused to pay it. The petty king could not brook such a flagrant breach of obedience. He marched his army against Tuticorin, entered it by surprise, sacked the whole town, robbed the College of the Jesuits and destroyed the altars and images of their Church. The Father who was then in the College, and whose name is not given, was captured by the soldiers of the so-called king and carried to their capital, where he was kept in captivity till a ransom of four thousand cruzados was paid by the Paravas. Now these much-vexed people demanded from the Palaiyakaran some sort of amends for the injuries done both to them and to the Catholic Church. But the chief was rather inclined not to trouble himself as far as this satisfaction was concerned. On seeing this the Paravas of Tuticorin abandoned their city, and proceeded in a body to the little island called 'of the Kings,' a league from the sea-shore, where they settled. Later on fortifications were built round the island, by the license of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha [1]. Naturally the escape of the Paravas from the continent was not a welcome news to the covetous Nayak of Madura. But another event, that followed soon after still more infuriated the Madura sovereign.

The Palaiyakaran of Vigiabadi (Vijayapati), named Ariya Perumal, was likewise heavily oppressing the Paravas that inhabited the tract between Cape Comorin and Manapadu. Once he besieged the village of Obari and took all its inhabitants prisoners to his capital. The Paravas could not stand such a humiliation. They secretly resolved to attack Vijayapati by night, in order to take revenge on the extortions of their tyrants. Early in October, 1602, the chiefs and promoters of the expedition, with 300 young men well equipped, (who were not yet cognizant of the purpose of the enterprise), embarked at Manapadu on six

1. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal...no ano de 606. & 607*, p. 607. Cf. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 409-10.

boats. A tremendous storm dispersed the boats before they reached their destination, and at the break of day only two of them had arrived at the shores of Vijayapati. The garrison of the town was sleeping. Ariya Perumal himself and his nobles, who had held a festivity till the small hours in the morning, were also in a sound sleep. The brave Paravas crossed the ditch and entered the town without opposition and pitilessly slew all they came accross. On hearing of the attack Ariya Perumal left his palace and hid himself in one of the houses of the town. There he was finally found. It seems he begged to be brought alive as a prisoner to the presence of the missionary at Manapadu; but his request was not granted, and he was barbarously slain. His head was cut off and brought to Manapadu as a glorious trophy of that campaign. The Jesuit letter which affords this information states that not even one of the Parava heroes was wounded on that occasion [1].

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka could not leave such a crime unpunished. An extraordinary heavy tribute of 200,000 *cruzados* was exacted from the poor Paravas the same year. To obtain it he despatched a body of 5,000 infantry with a number of cavalry and elephantry, under a captain. This detachment went straight to Tuticorin, which had been abandoned some months before. The captain then sent for one of the Jesuits who were in the island called of the kings. The Jesuit actually came, but replied that the Paravas could not pay such a large sum of money. On hearing this the captain gave orders that one of the neighbouring villages should be attacked. They did so, but at the same time the Portuguese captain of the island of Manar, who was then in the island of the kings with two galliots full of soldiers, proceeded with them to the sea-shore of Tuticorin and began an attack on the Hindu temple built near the city. All the priests and devotees of that shrine then ran to the Telugu captain begging for mercy, lest their temple should be destroyed. Shortly after pourparleurs were opened between the Jesuit missionery and the captain of the Nayak, which ended in the latter's retreat to Madura with his soldiers [2].

1. Besse, o. c., 404-7.
2. Ibid., p. 407-8. The Jesuit letters mentioned two other

These facts show how strange was the situation of these poor folks of the Fishery Coast. Oppressed with taxes and depredations by their natural lords, they had to be protected by a foreign people, whose sovereign in Europe took great interest in their welfare. When that monarch was informed of this new exaction, he wrote to his Viceroy as follows: "Manoel de Cunha, father of the Christians of the Fishery Coast, I recommend you to help those Christians as much as possible, and to employ all possible means to hinder the said Naique from making such extortions any more" [1].

This information, referring to the control of the Nayak of Madura over the Fishery Coast, is confirmed both by the fact that Muttu Krishnappa's son, Muttu Virappa, made a gift of land to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin in 1606 [2], and by Fr.A. Laerzio's letter of November 20th, 1609, describing the Paravas as tributaries of the Madura Nayak and the latter as the ally of the Portuguese [3].

9. Muttu Krishnappa is said to have been the founder of the Setupatis of Ramnad in the Marava country. According to the *Pandyamandala Cholamandala Tondamandala Rajakal* the Marava people were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon, who settled at Rameswaram as well as on the opposite coast [4]. In the early times, when the Chakravartins flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of the Ramnad coast were

irruptions of the Badagas into the Fishery Coast, in 1603 and 1604. Cf. Besse, o. c., p. 409-10 and 411. A new vexation of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka is recorded in the Jesuit letters of 1607, on the coasion of the shipwreck of a Portuguese boat near the island of the kings. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 109-10; Besse, o c., p. 412-5.

1. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap. B, No. VIII.

2. Cf. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 302.

3. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 2. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 107-8.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 207. The poem adds that they were settled there by Rama after the conquest of Lanka, to guard the temple and protect the pilgrims; this cannot be admitted by history until proved.

appointed to be its guardians [1]. They had been under the Pandya kings; but at the time of the Muhammadan invasion they attained their independence [2], and several famous princes had since ruled over the Marava nation. Udaiyan Setupati in 1434 built the outer surrounding walls of the western *gopuras* of the Rameswaram temple; and about 1540 Tirumalai Setupati erected the southern half of the second *prakara* of the same temple, finished by his son Raghunatha Tirumalai Setupati [3]. Their main task was to watch over the causeway leading to Rameswaram and to protect the pilgrims. But after the conquest of the South by Visvanatha Nayaka the Setupatis had lost their old authority, and were mingled with the other palaiyakarans of the South. Muttu Krishnappa gave that house a considerable strip of land in the Marava country; and this is the reason why he is considered the founder of that dynasty. This is how it happened.

The *History of the Karnataka Governors* relates that the chief guru of Muttu Krishnappa, who was invested with the title of Kartarkal or lord, went once on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram. Udiyan Sethopathi (Udaiyan Setupati), a descendant of the old Setupatis [4], whose task was to protect the pilgrims going to Rameswaram, was then living in the village of Pugalur. "He escorted the chief guru safely to Ramiseram (Rameswaram), without allowing him to suffer any insult or molestation on the way; and in like manner he also safely conducted him back again to Madura. Being greatly pleased with this attention, the chief guru introduced him as a skilful guide and safeguard on the road to Sethu". Consequently the chief was then presented by the Nayak with a number of villages, along with an honorary robe and various ornaments. On returning to Pugalur he built a fort there; and

1. *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II. Ap., p. 49.

2. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

3. Burgess, p. 57. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 227.

4. His father, or perhaps one of his relations was one Muthuviraja Raghunatha Setupati, who in 1604 settled a dispute between two parties in the Ramnad country. 11 of 1911; Burgess, p. 62-3. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1170,105.

assembling some forces, subdued all the turbulent country around and reduced them to his own sovereignty. He collected a considerable sum of money from taxes levied upon the newly-subdued people, and brought it over to the Madura Nayak. Muttu Krishnappa was greatly pleased with such activity, and accordingly "gave him an unrestricted grant to subdue additional people; instructed him to see to the forest-lands, which yielded no revenue, that these be cleared and cultivated; and wrote letters to the people commanding their submission to his Viceroy." Udaiyan Sethupati went back to his country, and without delay took possession of a greater tract of land, and divided the revenue into two parts, of which he kept one for himself and sent the other to the Madura king. Then Muttu Krishnappa sent for him and invested him with the title of Setupati, or chief of Setu, "bestowing on him elephants and horses, with vestments and ornaments; and also gave him some banners or ensigns of dignity; and in Madura had him consecrated to his viceroyalty, by the sprinkling of the water of the Ganges" [1]. This ceremony took place, according to the *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, in A. D. 1606 [2].

10. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* tells us that "Udiyan Sethopathi built a mud fort at Ramanathapuram (Ramnad), and ruled after the fashion of a king" [3]. And "the other six persons, who were also guardians, were included in his government and, together with all the inhabitants, yielded their consent" [4].

One of the first measures of the new Raja of Ramnad, as he is called in some inscriptions, was to make a gift of five villages to the temple of Ramanatha and Parvatavardhani at Rameswaram for worship and offerings, on November 20th, 1606 [5]. Then in a copper-plate, dated July 8th, 1607, Dalavay Setupati Kattadeva records another gift of eight villages near

1. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 27-9.
2. Ibid., Ap., p. 49.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Ibid., Ap., p. 49.
5. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 37.

Pamban to the same temple for the regular performance of the *puja* and of offerings [1]. Some days after, on the 17th of the same month, he gave a plot of land in the island of Rameswaram to a servant of the Ramanathaswami's temple [2]. Then in the year 1607, he made a gift of lands to the people 'of the five countries' who served as priests and cooks in the Rameswaram temple [3]. These grants prove the care of the newly-appointed Setupati for the performance of the Hindu rites on that famous spot, of which he had been nominated the guardian.

An inscription of his of the following year 1608 at Rameswaram gives the list of his titles, which will appear again in some grants of his successors. Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati is there styled "the lord of the city of Tevai; the responsible agent for the protection of the Setu embankment; the responsible agent for the charities of Ramanathaswami, who is actively engaged in worshipping Siva; the chief of all other kings; the destroyer of the army of the Ariyaraya, who cuts into a thousand pieces and three thousand pieces those failing in the correctness of their language; who conquers all the country that he sees and never gives back a country once conquered; the punisher of Muvaraya, the lord of the valorous and the fertile country, the protector of the Brahmans studying the Vedas; who has put down the pride and prosperity of the valorous and inimical Yavana kings" [4]

During his time, in 1608 according to an inscription at Ramesvaram, the temple of Ramalingesvara was built [5]; and it was at this time too that the sage Ramanatha, as other inscriptions testify, repaired the main temple at Ramesvaram [6] and constructed the Kotitirtha *mandapa* in the same temple [7].

1. Ibid., p. 37; Sewell, II, p. 50; Burgess, p. 60-8.
2. *Catalogue*, p. 38. Cf. Burgess, p. 75-8.
3. Burgess, p. 65-6; Rangacharya, II, p. 1170, 110.
4. Sewell, II, p. 6. Burgess, p. 65-66.
5. 102 of 1903.
6. Burgess, p. 59; Rangacharya, II, p. 1168, 78.
7. 100 of 1900. The same Ramanatha had built in 1598 the Adalmandapa in front of the central shrine of the Ramalingesvara temple at Rameswaram. 99 of 1903.

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11. The relations between Muttu Krishnappa and the Emperor seem to have been of mutual friendship and understanding. A grant of Venkata II of the year 1601, to the Bhasyakata shrine in the Madanagopal temple of Madura, proves these relations to have been such from the beginning of his reign [1]. Then an inscription of 1606 at Villapuram, outside the dominions of Madura, records a gift of a garden as a reward to Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka [2]. Finally a coin which probably belongs to Muttu Krishnappa, is a proof of the same. It bears on the obverse a standing figure of Vishnu with a fish the symbol of the Pandya kingdom—on his right; and on the reverse this inscription: 'Venkatapa' [3].

Moreover in September, 1604, Venkata II received in audience a special envoy of the Nayak of Madura, as a Jesuit letter of the year 1906 tells us [4]. And in 1608, the last year of Muttu Krishnappa's reign, another of his embassies reached Venkata's court. Fr. Coutinho, who was himself present at the public audience, gives in one of his letters a detailed account of the ceremony: "A very few days ago", he wrote on October 11th, 1608, "the Naiques of Tangior and Madura sent their tribute consisting of 500 thousand *cruzados* and many sorts of presents to the King. In order to receive these (things), (the King) dressed himself as on the days of great celebration, with many ornaments of gold and precious stones. The one he bore on his chest was valued at a hundred thousand *cruzados*. We were present at this ceremony by a special privilege and permission of the King" [5].

1. 35 of 1908.

2. 326 of 1917.

3. Hultzsch, *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308, No. 37. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 104, and Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XII.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608. Ap. C, No. XXIII. It may be seen from this how groundless is the statement of Sewell, p. 220: "The Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore became independent in 1602."



Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka and Muttu Virappa Nayaka.

Pudu Mandapa, Madura.

12. Muttu Krishnappa must have died either at the end of this year or in the beginning of the following year 1609 ; for there is an inscription of the first half of this year recording a gift of money to celebrate certain festivals for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, his successor [1]. This was the eldest of the three sons of Muttu Krishnappa; the other two, according to the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, were named Tirumali Naicker (who was destined to become famous in the history of southern India) and Kumara Muttu-Naicher [2]. Of these three Muttu Virappa succeeded his father [3].

Following the wise policy of his father, the new Madura ruler continued on good terms with Venkata II during the first years of his reign. An inscription in Madura belonging to the year 1609 records that Venkatapatidevaraya, at the request of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, made a gift of the village of Nagenalluru, surnamed Mudduviramahipalasamudra, on the northern bank of the Kaveri river, to Brahmans. The Nayak divided the village into 82 shares and distributed them to several learned Brahmans on November 13th [4].

13. But suddenly these mutual relations appear to have been broken. No more inscriptions are found showing the names of the Emperor and his Nayak together; the latter does not acknowledge his overlord any more. Early in 1610 a gift of land of his to the temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly [5],

1. 87 of 1905.

2. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 29. I do not know why Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 97, does not accept the existence of this third son of Muttu Krishnappa. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, II, p. 260, and the *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206, do not mention him because they only give the list of the Madura kings. The same must be said of the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 239. Silence in this case is not a good proof, when other sources mention Muttu Krishnappa's third son.

3. *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, I, p. 206; *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Ibid., p. 260; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 29.

4. 9, Ap. A of 1906; *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 55; Rangacharya, II, p. 1003, 95.

5. 122 of 1907.

and an exemption from taxes of the Mudaliyar servants of the Sokkanatasvami temple at Madura [1] are both recorded, without mentioning Venkata. The same policy is followed in the inscriptions of the following years. In 1612 a gift was made in Tinnevelly for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayakkar [2]; in 1613 an inscription in honour of the same Muttu Virappa was carved in the greatest *gopura* of the Perumal temple at Madura [3]; in neither of these does the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara appear.

Fr. A. Proenza, writing from Trichinopoly to Fr. General, G. Nickel, in 1659, said: "Tirumala Nayaka, who rules now, walking in the footsteps of his father resolved to free himself" [4]. We have seen that Tirumala's father always remained loyal to the Emperor. Beyond doubt Proenza took Tirumala's predecessor as his father; and this means, that Muttu Virappa Nayaka also 'resolved to free himself'. Fr. Vico, writing from Madura in 1611, says that the Nayak was not punctual in paying the tribute; often would he postpone the payment; sometimes he even refused it with insolence. "In that case", continues the Jesuit, "the Bisnagar (the Emperor) comes or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred men, to make them pay all the arrears with interest" [5].

One of these rebellions took place in the beginning of 1610. Very likely Venkata did not lead the army which marched against the rebel Nayak. At this time he is described by both the Jesuit and the Portuguese sources as a very old, and a valetudinarian. Matla Ananta or Venkatapati Nayaningaru might have held the supreme command: the latter, in an inscription of 1612-3, is 'called the conqueror of the territory called Panchapandya' *i.e.* the kingdom of Madura [6]. The result of this

1. Burgess, p. 109-10.
2. 123 of 1907.
3. Sewell, I, p. 293.
4. From Fr. A. Proenza to Fr. G. Nickel, Trichinopoly, 1659 Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, III, p. 42.
5. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, August 30th, 1911, Bertrand, o. c., II, p, 124.
6. Butterworth, I, p. 246.

fight was the same as on the previous occasions: Muttu Virappa was defeated by the army of Venkata, and compelled to pay a heavier tribute, summing up the arrears and the war indemnity. Fr. Roberto de Nobili, writing from Madura on December 12th, 1610, to Fr. Laerzio, says as follows: "A certain notable Pandara said to one of my Christians these last days that the coming of the King of Bisnaga was the destruction of the Naiche, just as my stay in this country was the destruction of the Pandaras" [1]. The saying referred to in this letter proves evidently both that the war was over at the end of the same year, and that its result was satisfactory to the Vijayanagara Emperor. The same is meant by Fr. Vico's letter, which says that the poor people had to pay for the fault of the prince: "all the country is laid waste and people are plundered or massacred" [2].

After this war, the control of Venkata over Madura appears again through the inscriptions of the following years. There is one dated 1611 on a rock in the Matribhutesvara temple at Trichinopoly, which records a gift of Venkata for the merit of Virappa Nayaka [3]. Then another inscription of Venkata of 1613 registers that a certain Venkatadari Bhattar set up at Vellangudi, in the country directly ruled by Muttu Virappa, the images of Krishna and Kamesvari and granted land for their worship [4].

14. Shortly after the war with Venkata, Muttu Virappa was engaged in another war. Fr. Laerzio, writing from Cochin on December 25th, 1611, says that he was going on his usual visit to all the houses of his Province. On the 22nd of September he was in the College at St. Thome; but he was prevented from proceeding to Madura on account of the war between the Nayak of Madura and the Nayak of Negapatam [5]. It was

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, December 12th, 1610, Ap. C, No XXXI.

2. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, August, 1611, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 124.

3. 134 of 1905.

4. 452 of 1916.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXIII. Cf. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 108.

usual among the Jesuits to call Nayak of Negapatam the Nayak of Tanjore [1]. Nothing is hitherto known either about the cause or the result of this war between Madura and Tanjore. Did it break out because the Tanjore Nayak had given his aid to the Emperor the year before, while going to subdue the rebel Muttu Virappa? We shall see that this feud between the two houses, that came to a head and burst in Venkata's reign, continued unabated till the extinction of one of them; and that very soon, just after the death of the Emperor, the Madura and Tanjore Nayaks again came to blows.

1. Du Jarric I, p. 633.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF FATHER ROBERTO DE NOBILI

SUMMARY.—1. The fruitless mission of Fr. G. Fernandez at Madura. —2. Fr. Roberto de Nobili in Italy, Goa and Cochin.—3. De Nobili at Madura. Investigation of the causes of the failure of this mission.—4. De Nobili's new plan approved by his superiors. —5. He presents himself as a 'Roman Brahman.'—6. His ordinary life.—7. His mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu.—8. His mode of dealing with visitors.—9. Albert, the first convert.—10. De Nobili dresses as a *sannyasi*.—11. Other conversions. Good spirit of the new Christians.—12. De Nobili's method of preaching. The fourth Veda.—13. A number of extraordinary events confirm the Christian Faith.—14. Relations between de Nobili and the Palaiyakarans. De Nobili's dealings with Srivallabha Pandya.—15. Frs. Leytao and Vico at Madura.—16. Criticism of de Nobili's mission.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric, Guerreiro Figueroa.—3. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—4. Juvencio.

ONE of the most important events in the history of southern India during the reign of Venkata II is the establishment of the mission of the Jesuit Fr. Roberto De Nobili [1]. The brief account of it which we give here is an attempt to do justice to that bold but holy undertaking of this famous Jesuit, so differently judged both by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians and controversialists.

In the year 1596 Fr. Gonzalo Fernandez arrived at Madura from the Fishery Coast. Here he settled down in order to look after the spiritual welfare of the Christian Paravas of Coromandel, who occasionally went to the capital on business [2]. Fr. Guerreiro, relying on the missionaries' letters, says that Fr. Fernandez stayed at Madura to negotiate with the Nayak about the affairs of the missionaries on the Fishery Coast [3]. What these 'affairs'

1. Hence both Mr. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, *XLV*, p. 107-8, 116-9, etc., and Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 93-5; 106-8, speak at length of this missionary enterprise.

2. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 199.

3. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal...no anno de 606. & 607.*, p. 112.

were is not stated in this work; but we feel sure that the frequent irruptions of the Nayak's soldiers into the villages of the Paravas proved the necessity of such an agent at the court of Madura. Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka II, the then ruler of Madura, received the missionary amicably and granted him permission to build a church in his capital. Accordingly Fernandez erected a church, not so magnificent as the Hindu temple, says Du Jarric, but yet beautiful and pious [1].

Madura was a new field to work in. The faith of Jesus Christ had never been preached in the old Pandya capital, and the zealous missionary did not lose his golden opportunity. He spoke about Christ and his holy religion in his conversations with the people of the town [2]. Frequent religious disputations were held at his house between the missionary and the Brahmans, who were often attracted thither both by the Father's benevolence and by their natural curiosity. Moreover the Jesuit established a dispensary and hospital, where everything was administered free to Christians and Hindus alike [3].

It has been often said that Fernandez's labours bore no fruit, a statement which is not founded on contemporary Jesuit authorities. The only information about this particular point is found in Guerreiro, who says that 'the Badagas (Telugus) greatly admired the holiness of the Father and specially his chastity'; but he also states that 'in the conversion of Hindus he did very little' [4]. This means, no doubt, that some conversions to Christianity were made, but the success was by no means encouraging. For a time Fr. Nicolao Levanto was sent there in order to study Tamil [5]. But he was soon sent to St. Thome, and Fernandez once more remained alone.

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka followed the policy of his uncle in his dealings with the Father, and the bonds of friendship bet-

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 649. Cf. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church*, II, p. 31.
2. Guerreiro, l. c.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 649-50.
4. Guerreiro, l. c.
5. Du Jarric, I, p. 650.

ween the two were as close as ever. The King of Portugal, in a letter to his Viceroy dated February 26th, 1605, says that he is aware "that the Naique (the Nayak of Madura) made his salutations to a religious of the Society (of Jesus), who was conducting some business there" [1]. Great friendship must have existed between Muttu Krishnappa and Fernandez, if the knowledge of it reached the ears of even the King of Portugal.

2. Such was the position of the mission of Madura when Fr. Roberto de Nobili was sent there in 1606.

The new missionary had been born at Montepulciano. Italy, in September, 1577 [2], of a very noble family, related to Popes Julius III and Marcellus II and to the Cardinals Sforza and Bellarmino [3]. Another of his illustrious relatives did perhaps greatly influence Roberto's career. This was his uncle and namesake, Cardinal Roberto de Nobili, who died some years before Roberto's birth, at the early age of 18 years [4]. "Roberto de Nobili", says Pastor, "was a Cardinal upon whom the representatives of the Catholic reform party could rest their greatest hopes. Highly gifted from an intellectual point of view—he is said to have spoken Latin and Greek at ten years of age—he distinguished himself still more by his great piety. Like Aloysius of Gonzaga, whom he particularly resembles, he was scrupulously pure of heart. He could never do enough in his ascetic exercises; he fasted strictly, slept on a board, wore a hair-shirt, assisted at Mass every day, listened frequently to sermons, and often received Holy Communion, and from motives of humility would not allow his portrait to be painted. The dignity of the Cardinalate, which he had received from Julius III, was only used to assist the needy. He repeatedly thought of renouncing this dignity and of retiring into a

1. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap. B, No. VIII.

2. Brucker, *Malabar Rites*, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, p. 558, says Roberto de Nobili was born in Rome. I prefer the authority of Dahmen, *Roberto de Nobili, S.J.*, p. 1.

3. Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae S.J.*, IV, p. 74-5. Guerreiro, l. c., says that he was a nephew of Card. Sforza. Card. Bellarmino was his father's uncle. Cf. Dahmen, l. c.

4. Dahmen, o. c., p. 2, note 1.

religious order; but his confessor, the Jesuit Polanco, dissuaded him from this step. Assisted by him he died after a painful illness, with the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, on January 18th, 1559. Men like Charles Borromeo, Bellarmino and Baronius venerated as a saint this Cardinal, who was so early called away to a better life" [1].

The pious nephew, moved perhaps by the example of his uncle, in order to avoid any probability of his elevation to high eccleciastical dignity, joined the Society of Jesus in 1597 at Nocera, in the 19th year of his age. The famous historian of the Society, Fr. Nicolao Orlandini, was his novice master [2]. Four years later, though not yet a priest, he requested his superiors to send him to the missions of India [3]. In 1604 his wishes were fulfilled. He reached Goa in September, 1605, and was despatched shortly after to the College of Cochin, where he finished his studies in Theology [4]. One of his letters to the General, written at Cochin, shows both the state of the missions of southern India on those days, and his enthusiasm to undertake missionary life in the interior of the peninsula. It runs as follows: "It is but too true that till now our Fathers have hardly tried to get into touch with the people of the interior. With the exception of a few towns owned by the Portuguese and a few stretches on both coasts depending on them, where they had minor settlements, all that immense land of India, where the power of the King of Portugal never possessed any sort of influence, and where consequently one cannot expect any help from that power for the promotion of the missions, continues to grovel in the darkness of idolatry. Thus the way to the conversion of India is closed; and of our best missionaries all are content to employ themselves in the Colleges of Cochin and in the four residences we have along the coast, and close their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide-spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into the interior" [5].

1. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XIII, p. 176-7.
2. Dahmen, o. c., p. 2.
3. Ibid., note 4.
4. Ibid., p. 3-5.
5. Castets, *The Madura Mission*, p. 25. The last allusion of de Nobili is most likely to those who were at the court of Venkata II.

3. Finally in 1606 Father de Nobili himself ventured into 'those wide-spread lands.' In the middle of this year Fr. A. Laerzio, the Provincial of the Malabar Province, when going to pay his annual visit to the missionaries, took Fr. de Nobili along and left him at Madura. The same Provincial, in a letter written towards the close of the following year, says: "One year and a half elapsed since we sent Fr. Roberto de Nobili to the residence of Madura in order to learn the language of that country to perfection" [1]. And in another Jesuit letter of the same year, 1606, we read again: "In, November last Fr. Provincial, passing through that residence (of Madura), left Fr. Roberto de Nobili there to help Fr. Goncalo frz (Fernandez), and to learn the more correct language of the court; and also to relieve the Father who, being old and sickly, required a successor" [2]. De Nobili was then 29 years old.

We find the first impressions of de Nobili after his arrival at Madura in a letter dated December 3rd, 1607, to his godfather the Marquese D. Gregorio Boncompagno: "This," says he, "is the chief city of the kingdom. It is thickly populated by men that are indeed rich and brave in war, but who have as yet no knowledge of the true God. They are addicted to a very wicked idol-worship; and our Fathers who work here find themselves confronted with such insuperable opposition that after twelve years they have not made a single convert, except three or four sick persons who were baptised shortly before death. Yet our Fathers, who have been at work so long here, are men of outstanding virtue and true ability" [3]. De Nobili, in another letter to his cousin the Comtessa de Santa Flore, compares the idolatry of Madura to the idolatry of the old city of Rome: "I am now", he writes, "in a famous city of this country called Madura, crowded with wicked idols, as was formerly the famous city of Rome" [4].

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.
2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI.
3. Dahmen, o. c., p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 12, note 1.

Naturally de Nobili investigated the causes of the failure of Fr. Fernandez, and finally discovered them. "There might, of course, be other explanations", says Fr. Dandoy here. "But one seems to have suggested itself at once to the clear and keen mind of the princely Tuscan missionary. There is an old proverb about the Rome to which de Nobili compared Madura: *'Si Romae vivis Romano vivito more'*, (when thou art in Rome, do as the Romans do). In other words, one must adopt the customs and ways of the country one lives in. Nobili realised that one of the mistakes of his zealous brethren was that they not only failed to observe Indian customs, but by their example at least taught their converts not to respect them" [1].

One of the missionaries residing at the court of Venkata II, Fr. Antonio Rubino, after studying the causes of the lack of conversions, arrived independently at the same conclusions almost at the same time. In one of his letters to Fr. C. Aquaviva, he wrote: "It is astonishing how well barred is the entrance of this kingdom against the Holy Faith. This comes from the aversion and implacable hatred they have (towards us), based on the impression that we are the priests of the Portuguese, who eat beef and drink wine...We keep ourselves away from all these things, in this kingdom. Yet our black dress is quite enough to rouse such opposition and abhorrence; we are therefore looked upon by them as a pestilence. And to them it is quite enough, as said before, that they know us to be the priests of the Portuguese. It is necessary, in order to obtain different results, to dress oneself, to eat, and to keep other social customs, just as they do, *in quantum fieri potest* (as much as possible). I often wrote this to Fr. Provincial. He wishes to send me, dressed according to their fashion, to a city of this kingdom where I am unknown" [2].

This was neither the only, nor the main cause of such an aversion towards the Catholic priests. On account of a fatal misunderstanding the Paravas and their missionaries were called *Pranguis*; and the missionaries themselves, unaware of the

1. Dandoy, *A Sannyasi from the West*, *The Light of the East*, July, 1924, p. 6.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

real meaning of this word, had accepted it, and even called the Catholic Religion, 'the Religion of the *Pranguis*'. Christianity had been wrongly identified with *Pranguism* [1]. De Nobili, after a careful study of the meaning which the people attached to this word, realized the great mistake of his predecessors. "The word *Prangui*", he wrote some years later in his *Apology*, "does not, in the mind of this people, signify either Portuguese, or European, or Christian; for they do not exactly know either the one or the other. It means a vile class of people, despicable to a degree not far removed from the beasts—people without virtue and modesty, given to drink, feeding on unclean meat and even human flesh, incapable of science, divinity or religion. The Hindus", he continues, "have seldom met men of the illustrious Portuguese nation...The men who come here (from the Portuguese possessions) may be reduced to two classes. They are either men who, being born in India, have no Portuguese blood in them whatsoever, yet think that, when they have learnt by heart four Portuguese words and have dressed themselves like the Portuguese, they have changed their race and have become Portuguese; these we call *Topazes* [2], and the Indians call them *Pranguis*; hence it is clear that it is not only white men whom they call *Pranguis*, but anyone who, whatever his colour, dresses as a Portuguese. Or they are men who were born Jews, but came to some agreement with the Portuguese, and travel on business. These also the people of Madura call *Pranguis* without any qualification. Now anyone who has to deal with them knows the nobility, the reliability and the cleanliness of these two classes! No wonder then that the *Pranguis* are held most vile" [3].

4. The careful consideration of all these prejudices led to the natural conclusion that the mode of living of missionaries

1. The word *Prangui* is borrowed by the Hindus from the Muhammadans to designate denationalised people. This word, in Sanskrit *Phiranguin* and in Persian *Prangui*, was the name given by the Muslims first to the Franks, and then to all the Europeans in general. The special meaning attached to it in southern India, in Fr. de Nobili's days, was quite different.

2. One who uses two languages. Cf. *Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, p. 210.

3. Dahmen, o. c., p. 6 and note 1; Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 151.

had to be changed in order to attract the Hindus to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Blessed John de Britto, in a letter of 1683, wrote to this effect: "Fr. Roberto de Nóbili, of revered memory, that great servant of God and that model of missionaries, having acquired a most complete knowledge of all these prejudices, and being persuaded with St. Ambrose that '*primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri*' [1], made himself all things to all men that he might win them all to Jesus Christ" [2].

But before taking any step in carrying out his new plan, he consulted his superiors about the matter. The Provincial Laerzio thoroughly approved of de Nobili's plan, and mentioned his approval in a letter to Fr. General, written in 1609 [3]. His ecclesiastical superior, Mgr. Francisco Ros, Archbishop of Cranganor, and a Jesuit, says: "Before adopting this manner of life, Fr. Roberto first consulted me, who am the pastor of that church. When we had decided between ourselves on a plan to be adopted, the Father gradually carried it out, whilst I decided to continue to be, in a certain fashion, his fellow-worker, and to assist him in so holy an enterprise. I first read books on Hindu idolatry, the subtlest that exist; next I sought the advice of the best theologians of the Malabar Province, of the Goan Inquisitor and of the Most Illustrious Primate, Dr. Frey Alexis Menezes, now Primate of Braga and Governor of Portugal; and on finding that their views agreed with what I had gathered from long experience of those parts of India, I gave my full sanction to the method followed by Fr. Roberto in the formation of his Christians. We declare in particular that the thread worn by the Brahmans, and the *kudumi* or tuft of hair which caste Indians grow on their heads, the sandal paste and other social customs, were not marks of a religious sect, but only distinctions of nobility, caste or family, and that the converts might keep them without any scruple" [4].

1. The eminence of the master excites the first desire to learn from him.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683, Castets, *The Madura Mission*, p. 24.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Ap. C, No. XXVIII.

4. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin. November 19th, 1613, Castets, o.c., p. 29-30.

5. With such a full and encouraging approval from the Archbishop, de Nobili separated himself from his confrère Fernandez, and started his new mode of life, in 1607, a year after his arrival at Madura. Let us hear again the Provincial Laerzio, in one of his letters to Fr. C. Aquaviva. "God in his mercy", he writes, "has at last heard the prayers we addressed to Him long ago and crowned our hitherto fruitless efforts with success. A new field is open to our apostolic zeal; and everything makes us hope that it will be fertile in the labour, merit and fruit of salvation, to the greater glory of God. I mean to speak to Your Paternity about the Madura Mission, by whose beginning such brilliant hopes have been raised. Fr. Roberto de Nobili was moved by the deplorable blindness of those people, who are buried in the darkness of death, and was filled with the great thought that Jesus Christ had come down for the salvation of all men, and must everywhere triumph over the devil, destroy his empire and wrench all his slaves from him. So after discovering the true cause of their obstinacy, he resolved to bring an efficacious cure to such an evil. After the example of St. Paul, who made himself all to all, and specially after that of the Eternal Word, who made himself man in order that men might be saved, Fr. Roberto said to himself: I too will make myself an Indian to save the Indians.

"With my approval, and with the authorization of His Grace the Archbishop of Cranganore, he presented himself to the Brahmans, protesting that he was neither a *Prangui* nor a Portuguese, but a Roman Rajah [1], *i. e.* a man of high nobility; and a *sannyasi*, that is, a penitent who has forsaken the world and all its enjoyments. The life to which he has bound himself by such a profession is very hard and very difficult; but there is nothing that does not become

1. Such is the statement of Laerzio, followed by Fr. Castets, o.c p. 24, note 2. It is however contradicted by both Mgr. Ros and Blessed Britto, as we shall see later on. Moreover Fr. Juvencio, who based his work on the accounts sent annually to Rome, says expressly that de Nobili declared himself a Brahman, and adds: "Id quod vere predicare poterat, quippe qui e nobilissima inter Italicas gente ortus". Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 74. The same

easy to a man animated with a true desire to make Jesus Christ known and to gain souls to Him.

"From that moment, Fr. de Nobili admitted none but Brahmans into his service. Rice, milk, herbs and water, taken once a day, constituted his only food.

"He also thought it necessary to separate himself from Fr. Gonzalo Fernandez and having built for himself a house and a chapel, on a site given him by a pagan of high position in the Brahman quarter, he made it his own special home" [1]. Guerreiro's account states that the house was given him by the Governor of Madura [2].

Blessed John de Britto, writing on de Nobili's change of life, says that he adapted himself strictly to the Brahmanical manner of life, "used only Brahmans as servants, and gave himself out as a Roman Brahman Sannyasi, or in other words, a religious sage from Rome. Conformably to the social usages of the country, he avoided all public intercourse either with Europeans or with Pariahs" [3].

Moreover Mgr. Ros, while speaking of this strange evolution, says that 'he transformed himself into a Brahman

Fr. Laerzio, in another letter written one year later, November 20th, 1609, states that Fr. de Nobili put on the thread of five strings, *because the Brahmans wear one made of three threads* (Italics mine). Cf. Ap. C. No. XXVIII. Moreover all the sources affirm that de Nobili's new house was placed in the Brahman quarters. Guerreiro, l.c., not acquainted with Indian things and customs says that he presented himself 'como Brahmene or Rayo'. In one of the contemporary letters there is an anecdote which might perhaps create some confusion. Once the Nayak Hermeeatti (Errumei Chetti) sent soldiers to arrest one of de Nobili's disciples. At the official's request the missionary answered: 'If His Lordship wants my head, let him cut it off; but let him not expect from me a deed unworthy of my rank'. At these words one of the soldiers, who was a rajah by caste, was heard to murmur with some pride: 'Here is a true rajah. I know his caste from the way he behaves'. Bertrand, o.c., II, p. 94. Is Bertrand reliable here? I was unable to see the original of this letter.

1. From Fr. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p. 26-7.

2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 112.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683, Castets, o.c., p. 84.

philosopher'[1]. Accordingly he was called thereafter *Tattva-bodhaka Swami*, the Philosophical Doctor.

6. De Nobili himself, in a letter to Cardinal Bellarmino, dated Madura, December 1st, 1607, describes confidentially his ordinary life in his new settlement. "I now dwell", he says, "in a mud-house covered with straw, which is to me more useful and gives me more satisfaction than a rich palace. I hold it to be most certain that there is no consolation comparable to that enjoyed by one living in this voluntary sort of exile for the love of God, and toiling much for His sake. Nevertheless at times the labour I have undertaken becomes wearisome to me; and when the thought rushes on me, that I shall have to continue amidst such toil and fatigue all my lifelong, I begin to be apprehensive that I shall not be able to persevere to the end. But when I turn my thought from this to heaven, I am reminded of what Your Excellency used to say, explaining those words of King David: '*Qui posuit fines tuos pacem*'. I feel that my fear has vanished, and I am consoled at the thought that, since such peace and repose await us in the end, a longing for rest here on earth is simply unreasonable.

"My way of living is as follows: I remain continually shut up in my little mud-house. Thereto, every day, after I have said Mass and commended myself to the Lord, I give free admittance to whoever likes to speak to or to discuss with me. The time left to me, which is very short, I spend in writing, in the language of the country, the refutation of some of the false doctrines upheld by various leaders of thought among these people. As I am thus obliged to keep continually to my house, or rather to my single little room; and as the food I eat is not very substantial, since neither meat nor fish nor eggs ever so much as pass my door, I am always sickly; and few are the days in which I do not feel some pain either in the stomach or in the head. My food consists of a small quantity of rice, of which there is abundance in this country, and some herbs or fruits. This manner of diet I must observe; because if these people did not see me following this penitential kind of life, they would not

1. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Ibid, p. 29.

consider me fit to teach them the heavenly way. For so are their doctors wont to live, and some of them even follow a harder and austerer kind of life. There are those in fact who do not even touch rice. Now if Your Excellency reflects that here the use of bread is unknown, and that as to wine, I use it only for Mass, Your Excellency may gather how little a man has to feed upon if he abstains from rice. As for me, I do not venture so far; because what I already do, namely abstaining from flesh and fish and eggs, suffices in order that those people may condescend to consider me as a true teacher of religion. At this very moment I am suffering from such a strong fit of asthma that I can scarcely breathe; and so I finish my letter bit by bit as I can" [1].

This food was prepared by a Brahman cook; and he never dared any more to take food prepared by a non-Brahman servant [2]. He had one daily meal only, and that at four o'clock in the afternoon, according to the custom of the *sannyasis* [3].

7. For the rest of the day he was extremely busy with the study of the languages of the country. Shortly after his arrival in Cochin he had taken up the study of Tamil. In his letter to Prince Boncompagno, quoted above, he says: "As soon as I came here I began to learn the language which, on account of its rich vocabulary and its syntax, is difficult. But God helped me, so that after six months I could hold conversation and preach without an interpreter" [4]. Two years later he wrote again that 'he finds it more difficult to speak Italian or Portuguese than Malabar (Tamil)' [5]. Writing to Card. Bellarmino, he says: 'I find their language very fine, very copious and very elegant' [6]. About the same time, Fr. Laerzio wrote to Fr.

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura, December 1st, 1607, Castets, o. c., p. 32-4.

2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 112.

3. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Ralacion. Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 134-5.

4. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Prince Boncompagno, Madura, December 3rd, 1607. Dahmen, o. c., p. 4.

5. From the same to Fr. Fabius de Fabiis, Madura, October 8th, 1609, Ibid., p. 14.

6. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura December 1st, 1607, Castets, o. c., p. 33.

General: "Fr. Roberto charms every one by his conversations, the purity of his High Tamil, and the stories and passages from Indian authors that he quotes from memory [1]".

He now began to apply himself to Telugu and Sanskrit. No European had previously studied the latter language [2]. His teacher was a learned Brahman from Madura. In a letter dated April 22nd, 1609, Fr. de Nobili expresses to his Provincial his gratitude to that learned man. "I cannot express," he says, "all the obligation I am under to this excellent Brahman. Besides the knowledge of Sanskrit and Telugu, I owe him a knowledge still more precious: that of the most sacred mysteries of the Vedam. It is considered a crime for a Brahman to write down the Vedam; they only learn it by heart at the cost of incrediable fatigue, and it takes them ten or twelve consecutive years. My teacher has overcome his scruples on this point, which is a shining proof of his faith. He writes down all the laws for me; but this must be done quite secretly; if the Brahmans came to know of it, the least punishment inflicted on him would be the plucking out of his eyes. We spurn the danger because of the utmost necessity of this means: for on the knowledge of these secrets depends the conversion of the gentiles" [3]. His assiduity in study was so great that Fr. Vico, one of his companions later on, affirms that de Nobili used to study whilst the barber was shaving him [4].

In an account of the year 1608 we read as follows: "He has started to learn the *Gueredan* (Gradonic or Sanskrit) now,

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ibid., p. 27. "Sabe ya la lengua Talmul (Tamil), mas cortesana, y pronunciala tan biem que no da ventja a los Bramanes mas entendidos. Lee y escrive ya la misma lengua, y tiene passados muchos libros de sus historias y decorados muchos pasos de su ley, y versos de los mas famosos Poetas de que ellos hacen mucho caso". Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

2. Cf. Max Muller, *The Science of Language*, I, p. 143.

3. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, April 22nd, 1609, Bertrand, o. c., III, p. 49.

4. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 104.

and he reads it and speaks it moderately well" [1]. Two years later, in a letter dated December 8th, 1610, Laerzio reports that 'Father Roberto possesses the language, understands it perfectly, and speaks it with ease' [2]. Finally in 1613, Mgr. Ros is able to affirm that de Nobili has "learned three very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the secrets of the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them fully". And somewhat later on, the Archbishop expresses his admiration for the marvellous knowledge acquired by de Nobili in such a short time: "I have conversed with Fr. Roberto", says he, "about the languages and manners of these people, and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I, who may, however, be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear, every time I am asked to do it, that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can, without the special help of God, lead the austere life he leads" [3].

8. Admiring crowds gathered round the Philosophical Doctor, and curiosity led the men of Madura to see and hear him. Visitors flocked to the small hut to inquire where the new *sannyasi* came from, what was his caste, his doctrine, his manner of life and his purpose. But de Nobili, knowing the customs of the Indian ascetics, at the beginning did not stir out, and received visitors only with great reserve. When people came to see him, his disciple told them that the *sannyasi* was engaged in contemplation, or engrossed in meditation upon the divine law [4].

1. Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 8th, 1610, Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 88.

3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29. "Suspiciebant (Brahmanes) majorem in modum, tantam in homine Europaeo vernaculi sermonis facultatem, non secus ac si media in Madura et aula fuisset educatus; eruditionem vero in nulla doctrinae Indicae parte rudem." Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 75. "We feel deep admiration for his (Nobili's) learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of the Sakhas, the Yajurveda of the Taittiriyas". Caland, *Roberto de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language, Acta Orientalia, III*, p. 51.

4. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.

When admiration and curiosity were at fever-height he received the visitors, but not before they had come twice or thrice. "They tell the porter that they wished to speak with the Ayer (that means the lord)," says Figueroa. "Then after much waiting, as it is there customory, they are admitted to his presence to talk with him. They find him sitting on a dais covered with a red carpet-like cloth; another red carpet is lying before him, and next to this there is a mat. Those who come, even the most noble and principal courtiers, bow reverently before him, raising up their hands over their heads and then bringing them down in profound obeisance. Those who desire to become his disciples bow thrice in this style, and finally prostrate themselves for a while" [1].

Guerreiro affirms that even Muttu Virappa Nayaka was desirous of hearing the new European *sannyasi,* and manifested his wish several times to his courtiers; but one of them, who probably knew de Nobili, replied that 'the Father was so chaste, that he never went out of his house to avoid seeing women' [2].

As a matter of fact, de Nobili spent more than one year in that holy solitude, without having been seen in the streets even for a moment [3]. When, after a while, he began to go occasionally to his country-house for some rest, he went in a palanquin preceded by two criers to clear his way. Some years afterwards, however, all this show was dropped: he presented himself as a mere spiritual *guru,* proceeding simply on foot, with a long staff bearing his insignia and two Brahman disciples accompanying him [4]. All these ceremonies and honours were far from being dear to the heart of the humble missionary, who had joined the Society of Jesus in order to avoid them; but in his *Apology* he says that a Hindu *pandaram* had given him the following good advice: "If you desire your own salvation only, you should retire to a desert, where you can live stark naked. But if, as you tell me, you have at heart the salvation of the people of this land, you must surround yourself

1. Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.
2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.
3. Ibid.
4. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 38.

with splendour: the spiritual man must be like a corpse who wears with equal indifference silk robes and linen rags, riches and poverty, honours and ignominy" [1].

De Nobili's purpose was successfully attained. Fr. B. Coutinho, in a letter of 1608, speaks "of the great fruit obtained in Madura by Fr. Roberto, and of the great edification he gives by devoting himself to the service of God in a sort of disguise" [2]. And Mgr. Ros is still more explicit in the following passage of the letter quoted above: "He (de Nobili) has attracted the hearts of haughty Brahmans, in such a way that not only do they come to see him, and hear from his lips the word of God with incredible admiration, but they go so far,—a wonder which no one could have expected,—as to kiss the ground he has trodden on and to embrace the faith that he preaches. Acknowledging their errors, they openly declare: 'Never has a man spoken as he does'" [3].

9. The immediate fruit of this admiration and veneration was a large crop of souls. The first Brahman who became a Christian was a teacher in the school founded at Madura by the Jesuits [4]. He was a very learned and proud young man, who had despised the Fathers and their doctrine. Fr. de Nobili gave him a Tamil Catechism written by Fr. G. Fernandez, to be translated into Telugu. The reading of this book excited much curiosity in the teacher's mind. On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, that took place on February 25th, 1608, Fr. de Nobili refuted several of his ideas and superstitions. That was their first religious talk. After that the teacher was a frequent visitor at de Nobili's house, and became his constant disciple. Guerreiro gives the matter and order of some of these discussions: "They first spoke about the plurality of gods. The Father showed him its absurdity based on the argument of the divine perfection? For it is evident that if God were to have partners of his divinity inferior to Him, they would not be

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 167.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C., No. XXIII.

3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29.

4. Cf. Ch. XXV, No. 13.

gods; if they were equal, none of them would be god, since each would be wanting in the perfections the others had. The teacher easily agreed to this reasoning. Then they discussed whether God had created this world out of nothing. On this point the pagans hold the same error as our ancient philosophers did, *viz.* that it is impossible to create something out of nothing. De Nobili refuted this as follows :—

"Everything that exists has its existence either because it has it from itself or because it has received it from another. Your Paju (Pasu) exists; now, this existence is given him by God or it comes from himself.

" The Hindu replied that it had not been given by God.

" Hence it comes from himself ", added the Father.

" It seems so," answered the Hindu.

" Therefore, (replied de Nobili), this your Paju (Pasu) is God, and possesses an infinite being, and this being is not limited by anybody ". On hearing this the Hindu remained silent: no answer could be given to the conclusion. Then, in order to convince him thoroughly, the Father proved the same with another more evident argument from the omnipotence of God. If God could not create something out of nothing, he was not mightier than the earth, which produces the trees out of their seeds; nor than the water, which aided by the sun and other circumstances produces fishes and other imperfect animals [1]. He would then be like a carpenter, who from a tree makes an image, but he cannot make it without the tree. De Nobili told him at the same time that God, in order to be infinitely powerful, cannot lack any power; but He would certainly lack power if He would need Paju (Pasu) in order to create anything. Hence either He was not Almighty or He was not in need of Paju (Pasu). The Hindu remained satisfied after hearing this reasoning.

"On another occasion, another important dispute took place about the transmigration of souls, an ancient dream of Pythagoras. The reason given by the Hindu was founded on the variety of men : some are kings, others are slaves; some are

1. This idea was founded on the ancient philosophical theory of spontaneous generation, which is now thoroughly exploded.

Brahmans, others Pariahs. While explaining his theory the Hindu spoke as a true Pythagorean would have done, since he maintained that the soul was not the form of the body, but was (he said) inside the body as the bird is inside the cage and the chicken inside the egg. It was not very difficult to show him the fallacy of this opinion.

"You know very well," said the Father, "that when the bird is inside the cage, the cage does not grow; unlike the body, that having the soul inside, grows up to its perfect height. Moreover you cannot deny that the bird out of the cage can beget another bird, and yet you will never state that the soul separated from the body could have sons. Moreover the soul is not in the body in the same way as the bird is in the cage.

"Then the Hindu asked de Nobili: 'How did it stay in the body?'

"The Father answered that the soul dwelt in the body as the form and the life of that body, and both together made one thing, called man. The Father proved this by the human operations of eating, walking and running; for these operations cannot be done by the body alone without the soul, but by both together. And for the same reason neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but both together forming one single thing, make up what is called a man. Hence, it would not be in accordance with justice that any of them separately should be either punished or rewarded for the bad or the good deeds of the man; both together must be either punished or rewarded, since both together have done bad or good things. Then the missionary explained to him how a man dying in a state of sin, that is, in infinite malice, has to be punished with an infinite punishment. But to be a hundred years in the body of a dog was not an infinite punishment; therefore a place was necessary where, after passing away from this life, the sinner could be punished for ever without ever entering another body. As to the variety of men, from which the transmigration of souls was inferred, the Father replied that the potter from the same mud moulds a jar for the king's table and a basin for washing one's feet; in the same way God according to his will creates one to be a

king and another to be a slave; and nobody can reasonably complain by asking: 'Why was I made so?'

"This disputation lasted a long time. It was started at two o'clock in the afternoon and was not over before eight o'clock in the evening. From this, however, as well as from the preceding ones and from others that followed, in which the mysteries of our holv faith were declared to him, this Hindu was so satisfied and so enlightened, that he soon asked for Holy Baptism, which was finally administered to him after having been carefully instructed for twenty days; and he was named Albert

"The Baptism of this fortunate teacher was the beginning of many others, that were subsequently administered to those who were coming to know the most sweet name of Jesus and his holy law. For after a while he baptised another noble youth whom he called Alexis Naique (Nayaka); and two more Badagas (Telugus), and a brother of the teacher Albert, and four or five more nobles, among them a very learned Captain. All this was done with great rejoicing; but secretly, in order that it might not reach the Naique's (Nayak's) ears till an occasion for the Father to pay a visit to him presented itself"[1].

10. But all these conversions could not be made as secretly and silently as de Nobili desired. For Albert had formerly been a disciple of a Pandara, who at once noticed his pupil's desertion. De Nobili was afraid of this Pandara because of his influence at court; but the man himself, moved by curiosity, once went, exhorted by his disciples, to the house of de Nobili. The missionary received him as kindly as he could; and after they were seated, a religious discussion at once began De Nobili declared to him the tenets of the religion of Christ, and so clearly, that the Pandara openly confessed before his disciples that 'Chhokkanatha (the god worshipped at Madura) and the ashes they put on their forehead were all sham, and that only the things taught by our holy faith seemed to him true'. On leaving the house, the Pandara told his pupils that those

1. Guerreiro, o. c, p. 113-5. The final refutation of the transmigration of souls is also mentioned in Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 75-6, and Marini, *Delle Missioni*, p. 119.

who embraced de Nobili's doctrine were worthy of much praise; and that he himself would help the missionary in his enterprise to the best of his ability. And his first advice to him was of great importance indeed.

It has been often said that, when de Nobili moved to the Brahman quarters, he also changed his black soutane for the dress of a Brahman *sannyasi*. This is not accurate. Up to this time, *viz.*, towards the middle of 1608, de Nobili wore the black soutane, as contemporary sources clearly show. It was at the advice of this Pandara that he changed his mind once more, and changed his habit too, for that of a *sannyasi*. "He advised him to leave aside the dress of the Portuguese, which was hated by the Badagas (Telugus), and to put on the garments used in that country by the *gurus* and learned people who profess to teach the divine law". De Nobili objected that this dress was too showy and, therefore inconsistent with his vow of poverty; but the Pandara solemnly replied

"Father, if you want to attain salvation yourself alone, you may dress as you like; but if you want to teach others the way to salvation, to be the *guru* of these people, to preach the spiritual law and to have many disciples, you must live according to the customs of this country, as much as you can" [1].

De Nobili followed the advice of the Pandara, and on this occasion he took to the dress of the *sannyasis* [2]. This dress is described in one of the letters of Fr. Laerzio as "a long robe of yellowish cloth, with a sort of rochet of the same colour thrown over the shoulders, a cap in the form of a turban on his head, and wooden slippers fixed on supports two inches high and fastened to each foot by a peg passing between the toes". "To this", Fr. Laerzio continues, "he adds a string, the distinctive sign of the Brahmans and of the Raju caste; but instead of the three threads of which it is generally made, he uses five, three gold and two silver ones, and a cross is suspended in the middle. The three gold threads, as he explains, represent the Holy Trinity, and the two silver ones the body and the soul of the adorable Humanity of Our Lord; while the cross in the middle

1. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 115-6.
2. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 76.



XVI. Fr. Roberto de Nobili, S. J.,
in the costume of Brahman Sannyasi.
An ink sketch by a contemporary missionary Fr. Balthazar da Costa, Biblioteca Nacional, Panjim.

represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour" [1]. Figueroa, after having described de Nobili's costume in accordance with the preceding extract, adds the following consideration to the explanation of the string of five threads: "Thus with this string he publicly announces in that country the mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity of the Incarnation and of the Redemption" [2]. Later on de Nobili ascertained that a solitary ascetic need not wear the thread, and thenceforth he discarded it [3].

11. The number of conversions was gradually increasing. At the end of September, 1608, he baptised four prominent men of Madura—Dadamurti, the owner of the *agrahara* where Fr. de Nobili lived; Chritinada, a craftsman of great repute with the Nayak and the nobles of the court; Golor, brother of the chief porter of the Nayak's palace; and a fourth, whose name is not given. At the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, December 21st, nine others were also baptised [4].

In the following year, one of the most illustrious converts was de Nobili's own teacher of Sanskrit and Telugu. When their friendship began, the proud *guru* nursed fond hopes of converting the Christian *sannyasi* to Hinduism; but the result turned out to be quite other than he had foreseen or even hoped for. On June 7th, 1609 de Nobili announces this event, showing in his words the joy of his heart and his thankfulness to God: "Today", says he, "the feast of the Holy Ghost, I have baptised my beloved teacher: I cannot sufficiently express his joy, mine, and that of all the Christians. He has received the name of God-given. I trust he will do much for the conversion of the Gentiles, for he is a young man well known throughout Madura for his nobility, his cleverness, his erudition, and his profound knowledge of the sacred laws; and, what I esteem most, he has ever led a pure and regular life" [5].

The number of conversions cannot be ascertained with

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p. 27. Cf. Ap. C. No. XXVIII.

2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 134.

3. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 110.

4. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, December 24th, 1608, Figueroa, o. c., p. 141.

5. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 37

precision. Fr. Besse, after an examination of de Nobili's letters, records their number at 71 for this first period of his work, from 1607 to 1614 [1]. The letters of de Nobili and his companions often commemorate the virtues practised by these Christians, that recall to our mind those of the first Christians of Rome. Alexis Nayak is mentioned as an example of humility and Christian perfection [2]. His brother Vihuuada (Vihuvada) Nayaka preferred to be dismissed from the retinue of Kasturi Nayaka, a cousin of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, rather than mark his forehead with the sacred ashes as in former days [3]. Another called Calistri (?) is shown as busy spreading the Christian faith among his old friends and always desirous of the palm of martyrdom [4]. The craftsman we have mentioned above was offered great quantities of money to induce him to make several statues of idols; but he always refused them, preferring a life of poverty to contributing any more to the splendour of that cult [5]. Fr. Buccerio, a companion of Fr. Fernandez, by whom he was later on influenced against Fr. de Nobili, wrote a brilliant apology for the converts of de Nobili. "I observed in that Christian community", says he, "two other things well worthy of the highest praise, and exceedingly rare in India, among those who wish to become Christians. I may speak from experience, for during my long apostolate the Lord sent me many to be instructed and baptised. Those who thus present themselves generally come to us either because of the interest they find in joining Christians of their caste, or because of the difficulties they experience in remaining pagans or Muhammadans, or because they hope to secure some temporal advantage, or for other interested motives. For these reasons they are often he cause of great difficulties to us. What can we give them? How are we to clothe or protect them? At the same time we must give them much instruction in order to teach them to purify their intention, and to make them understand that in our religion alone can they find salvation. But, on the

1. Cf. Dahmen, o. c., p. 77.
2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 147.
3. Ibid., p. 145.
4. Ibid., p. 142.
5. Ibid., p. 143.

other hand I observe that, in Fr. Roberto's community, those new Christians have come with no other end in view than their salvation; also after having attended, during several months, the instructions of the Aiyer (de Nobili) and understood that our religion is the only true one, they asked to be baptised and to be made Christians, solely to please God and to save their soul. The Aiyer has never to give anything to his Christians; it is rather they who, on the day of their baptism, are wont to present the Aiyer with some little offerings for the use of his church, or for other similar purposes. We, on the contrary, are all our lifelong beset with cares and anxieties to find out how we may help our Christians, who are continually begging. Some of them have even come all the distance from Cape Comorin to this city, in order to approach me for some help. The second thing which I always tried, though in vain, to make both Christians and Pagans understand, is that our religion is no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation; and that by becoming a Christian an Indian does not lose his honour or his caste, but rather keep all the honour he had, and adds to it the much greater glory of becoming an adopted son of God. But it is useless for us to speak to them in this way; we fail entirely to persuade them; for those who come to us are invariably regarded by Christians and Pagans as joining the caste of the *Pranguis* or Portuguese, or of that of the Paravas, according to the nature of the converts; and the Pagans look down upon us in the matter of caste, as being below everything. In consequence respectable Pagans, or even the Christians of St. Thomas, refuse to admit those converts into their houses or to their churches. Fr. Roberto has obtained totally different results. Hence, though both Christians and Pagans well know that the law he preaches is the same as that of the Portuguese (as is proved by the crosses and other pious objects which those Chrtstians wear in place of the image of their gods), the Christians (of de Nobili) have the satisfaction of being assured that the Father is not a *Prangui*; and the Pagans, who have the same conviction, are appeased and have no difficulties in dealing with the Christians in all social or civil matters" [1].

1. Castets, o. c., p. 35-6.

12. After having seen the relatively great success obtained by Fr. de Nobili, it may be of interest to know what his way of preaching was. He explains this in one of his letters: "The advice given in the *Exodus*", says he, "'Do not speak against the gods', applies even to pagan divinities; not that these divinities are not despicable, but because speaking against them, instead of doing good, prevents the conversion of souls. When we wish to drive darkness out of a room, we do not waste our time creating a great stir and trying to expel it with brooms; we light a taper, and darkness vanishes by itself. Reach the pagan heart by winning its esteem and affection, and then bring in the taper of truth, and all the darkness of idolatry will vanish without trouble" [1].

In another letter he explains more particularly the different articles of faith which formed the subjects of his conversations with his visitors: "To those who come to me," says he, "I teach that there is only one God in three persons, whose attributes are infinite; who created the world, man and all beings; who in order to save men assumed a human nature, body and soul, in the womb of an ever-chaste virgin; that this incarnate God, true God and true man, is called Jesus Christ—a name that means Saviour, full of grace and heavenly gifts; that free from all stains, He atoned for all the sins of men and saved them. The holy spiritual law which contains these truths is the Law I preach. It requires of none that he should give up his caste, or that he should join another caste, or do anything that is contrary to the honour of his caste. God is witness to me that the holy spiritual law is for all castes. As the great Nayak is the lord of these lands, so that all the inhabitants, Brahmans or Rajas, are obliged to obey him in all

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 265. Accordingly in his works, of which we shall speak at length in the following volume, he never directly attacks paganism. Cf. Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p. 23. Figueroa, o.c., p. 64, however affirms that "he had read many books of their stories. And these stories are to him of great help in order to refute them and to prove that there are not many gods, but only one who has no body". Anyhow, this refutation of the tenets of Hinduism always followed the exposition of the Christian Doctrine.

temporal concerns; so the true God is the legitimate Lord of all men, so that all conditions and castes should live according to His spiritual law. This is the law I preach, and which other saints and *sannyasis* have preached in this land before. If anyone were to say that this law is proper to *pariahs* and *Pranguis*, he should commit a great sin; for since God is the lord of all the castes, his law must be obeyed by them all; and no caste is so high that it is not further raised by obedience to that law. As the sun spreads its very pure light on all castes and all objects in this world, without losing thereby anything of its admirable purity; and as its light, instead of soiling the Brahmans, honours them; so the true God, the spiritual Sun, spreads over all men the gift of his holy law, the true spiritual light" [1].

Now the way of conveying all these new ideas to the mind and heart of his audience was purely Indian: even in his way of teaching he accomodated himself to the customs of the country. Fr. Laerzio says in one of his letters: "Fr. Roberto charms every one by a great number of verses of his own composition, which he partly sings and partly recites with exquisite delicacy and distinction" [2]. Fr. Castets, commenting on this passage, says: "The practice here described by Fr. Laerzio was then the approved method of preaching or teaching moral or religious truths. It is not unknown even now. The orator begins by singing a pithy stanza expressed in more or less enigmatic and very concise language. This is followed by a rather lengthy gloss in which the explanation of the text is interspersed with quotations, stories, allusions, according to the wealth of learning and fluency of the exponent. When one considers that Fr. de Nobili was able to go successfully through such a performance before a most fastidious and fault-finding audience, and even to astonish his hearers by the elegance of his diction and the wealth of his literary knowledge,

1. Bertrand, l. c.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p. 27. "Sabe tambien muchas canciones y las canta con tan buena vos y gracia, que le oyen todos con admiracion y gusto" Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

after scarcely a year's study of the language, we must conclude that the Father must have been not only a man of wonderful ability, but a true prodigy"

Finally, another unexpected circumstance drew to Fr. de Nobili the attention of his audience. "What helps me very much in the conversion of these people", says he in a letter of December 24th, 1608, "is the fact I discovered, that they had originally four Vedas; three which the Brahmans still teach, *viz.* of Vesmu (Vishnu), Brama (Brahma) and Rutru (Siva), and a fourth, wholly spiritual, by which salvation was to be attained. They say, however, that this fourth Veda is lost, and there is no man wise and good enough to recover it. And the wisest of their men state likewise that the most secret books affirm it to be impossible to attain salvation by any of the other three laws. Hence many think that there is no salvation at all, and others suppose that there is nothing beyond this life. From this I take occasion to show them that they are in a fatal error from which, as they themselves confess, none of their three Vedas can save them. I prove this to them with the very sayings of their books. These people have a deep yearning for eternal life; hence they are much inclined to do penance and to give alms, and to be very faithful to their idols. So I profit by this disposition to tell them that if they wish to be saved, they ought to listen to me; that I have come from a far-off country simply to save them by teaching them that spiritual law which (as their Brahmans avow) has been lost—thus following the example of the Apostle who preached to the Athenians the Unknown God. I tell them that if they wish to apprehend this fourth law, they ought to declare themselves my disciples. Their conversion becomes then very easy. For when they resolve to become my disciples, they easily receive from me the doctrine I preach to them; and thus their will being inclined in my favour, they gladly come to hear my explanations" [2].

1. Castets, o. c., p. 27-8.

2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 147. Cf. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 21. About the discovery of the Veda, which Fr. de Nobili speaks of, see Yule, *Notes on Supara and the "Discovery of Sanskrit"*, *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 96; *Burnell*,

This original way of insinuating himself into the hearts of the Hindus is acknowledged by Max Muller as a wonderful token of the prudence and knowledge of Fr. de Nobili. "The very idea," he says, "that he came, as he said, to preach a new or a fourth Veda which had been lost, shows how well he knew the strong and weak points of the theological system which he came to conquer" [1].

13 In this enterprise Fr. de Nobili was evidently aided by God himself. Mgr. Ros says that "God confirmed his (de Nobili's) testimony by prodigies and the gifts of the Holy

On Some Early References to the Vedas by European Writers, Ibid., VIII, p. 98; Caland, *Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda* (Amsterdam, 1918); Zachariae-Hosten, *The Discovery of the Veda, Journal of Indian History*, II, p. 127-57. In the 18th century, a MS. containing a new Veda, the Ezur-Veda was found in the Mission Library of Pondichery. The most respectable native Christians of the place held the opinion, founded on no authority, that the book was written by Fr. Roberto de Nobili. Nevertheless, Mr. Ellis, *Account of the Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Vedas*, *Asiatic Researches*, XIV, p. 32, wisely says. "There can be no doubt that he (de Nobili) was fully qualified to be the author of those writings. If this should be the fact, considering the high character he bears among all acquainted with his name and the nature of his known works, I am inclined to attribute to him the composition only, not the forgery, of pseudo Vedas". Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 174, note 70, categorically says: "The Ezur-Veda is not the work of Robert de Nobili. It was probably written by one of his converts. There is no evidence for ascribing the work to Robert, and it is not mentioned in the list of his works". In spite of the statements of these learned scholars, D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 256, boldly affirms that "Pere Robert applied his great skill to the production of a forgery in Sanskrit on an old bit of parchment. When questioned as to the genuineness of this certificate, he solemnly swore before the council of Brahmans at Madura that the document was authentic; and that he, like all Jesuits, was descended from their Indian Divinity! Nor was this all. He forged a new Veda, which was so well executed that, for nearly two centuries, it imposed itself upon the natives themselves". There cannot be more historical errors in so few lines. Then and Dr. Alex H. Japp, *A Jesuit Missionary in India. East and West*, III, p. 977-92, repeats this unfounded accusation; but he was thoroughly refuted by Fr. Ernest R. Hull, *Was Robert de Nobili an Impostor?* Ibid., p 1223-38. There cannot be any doubt about the authorship of the Ezur-Veda. A French Jesuit, named Calmette, wrote it one century later. As Prof. Caland, o. c., p. 33, shows, the spelling of the Sanskrit words and proper names points to Bengal and Orissa and not to the Tamil country where de Nobili ordinarily lived. Cf. Caland, *Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language*, *Acta Orientalia*, III, p. 50.

1. Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 174-5

Ghost" Impartial history cannot but acknowledge the preternatural character of a number of cases related in the contemporary letters, either of Fr. de Nobili himself, or of his companions.

In 1607 a new Christian compelled the devil to leave the body of his wife, not yet a Christian, by making the sign of the cross over her forehead [1]. The same happened to a Muhammadan in July, 1608; for when Albert, de Nobili's first convert, made the sign of the cross, the devil exclaimed: "You owe my departure to the weapon given by this man". "Whose weapon is this?", questioned the Muhammadan. "The weapon of the Almighty God, who created both of us", replied the devil, and disappeared for ever [3]. In August of the same year one of the disciples of de Nobili, not yet a Christian, was lying very sick, together with his three children; de Nobili on being apprised of the case, sent Alexis, carrying the Gospel and holy water. By these two spiritual remedies the four patients were suddenly cured [4]. Another catechumen was sick unto death, as a result of an attack of apoplexy, on October 23rd, 1608; de Nobili went there himself and baptised his disciple, and the latter got up at once in good health [5]. At about the same time, another man possessed by the devil was presented to Albert. This Christian, before making the sign of the cross over the sick, asked the devil what kind of man was Father Roberto, and whether the things taught by him were true. The devil replied that Fr. de Nobili was a man of great authority, and that all the things he taught were perfectly true. Again Albert asked the devil about the progress and success of Fr. de Nobili's enterprise The devil answered that the missionary would obtain

1. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29. "Foy tambem o Senhor seruido de confirmar estes nouos Christaos com alguas obras marauilhosas, que os animam muyto a se consolarem com a fee que tem recebido, & perseuerarem nella". Guerreiro, o. c., p. 116.
2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 116-7.
3. Figueroa, o. c., p. 139.
4. Ibid., p. 139-40.
5. Ibid., p. 140-1. See another similar case in p. 137-8.

very little fruit in the beginning, but, three years later his mission would be extraordinarily developed [1]

14. All these events were naturally spoken about at the court of Madura and even in the country around, and Fr. de Nobili's fame and deeds were on the lips of everyone: "The fame about me at Madura and through the country", he wrote on December 24th, 1608, "is that a new Mori (a spiritual ascetic and teacher) has come to destroy the idols. Hence they speak of me in very different ways" [2]. This was the cause of the friendship between de Nobili and a number of nobles and Palaiyakarans of the kingdom of Madura.

In a letter to Laerzio, dated October 25th, 1608, de Nobili says: "A chief Raya, about seventy years old, often came to the door of my house, and spoke to one of my neighbours, begging to be announced to one of my servants, for he was already old and the hour of his death was near. Then he begged my servant to be introduced to me in order to become my disciple, since many said in this city that I was teaching the road to salvation. I allowed him to come in, and he prostrated himself at my feet and prayed to be taught the law of salvation. I spoke at length to this old man, who was very clever and sensible; he promised to come regularly to my preaching, and to bring to me several other Rayas who were under him" [3].

On one occasion, one of the four Governors of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, in the city of Madura, went to pay a visit to the Father. A brother of his, who had been governing one of the palaiyams, had died childless shortly before, and had been succeeded by him. De Nobili asked him where his brother, once noble and rich, was; and concluded his interrogatory by saying that as he had not known the law of salvation, he was, on account of this ignorance, in hell. De Nobili spoke with such fervour on this point that his visitor burst into tears, and promised to come back to hear more of his teaching [4].

At the same time de Nobili wrote a letter to the Palaiya-

1. Ibid., p. 139.
2. Ibid., p. 145.
3. Ibid., p. 140.
4. Ibid., p. 137.

karan of Daraporan (Dharapuram), in which he said that there was no salvation for those who ignored God and the divine law, and offered to put him on the right way to salvation. The chief's answer is as follows :—

" I Chavarcovardin (Chakravartin), the slave of Your Lordship, wrote this, while bowing and looking at the feet of Your Lordship. I am ready to serve you at any time, according to the command of Your Lordship. With great rejoicing I received your letter, by which you announced you would come soon to teach me the divine secret. This was the main purport of your letter. But our land is now troubled with many wars. As soon as these matters are settled, I shall send a message to the holy feet of Your Lordship; and then, Lord, please come to us. Do not be sorry that I beg you to delay your coming a little, on account of the deadly dissensions in this country. I cannot discover what good luck it was that brought Your Lordship here. I shall let you know of everything " [1].

Friendly relations were also started in 1608 between de Nobili and the then Pandya King of Tenkasi, Srivallabha, the brother and successor of Ativirarama [2]. The missionary wrote Srivallabha a letter inviting him ' to hear of the things referring to his salvation '. The messenger sent by de Nobili, who must have been one of his disciples, was kindly entertained by the King. They spoke about God and the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyasi*. Srivallabha showed his desire to see and hear Fr. de Nobili. Accordingly he replied that when he should go to Madura to pay a visit to the Nayak, he would see the Father and receive his instruction. Srivallabha went there on August 1st, and at once sent one of his Brahmans to the house of de Nobili, to visit the Father on his behalf; this envoy told

1. Ibid., p. 136-7.

2. Cf. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 57-8. The details given in the Jesuit source about this Monarch, who is still called 'Rey de Madure', King of Madura, leave no doubt that he is the nominal Pandya King. " Era este Rey antigamente muy poderoso, mas al presente el Nayque le ha vsurpado muchas tierras. Tiene buen entendimento, y en su conformidad desea saluarse, assi ay grandes esperancas de su conuersion". Figueroa, o. c., p. 137.

de Nobili that His Lordship would come later on, to speak with him about his salvation. Unfortunately the Pandya fell sick during his stay at Madura, and he had not yet recovered when the letter that gives this news was written [1]. We could not find any further details about this interesting subject.

Two years later, on December 24th, 1610, Fr. Vico wrote to Fr. Laerzio from Madura itself: "Two months ago a petty King, feudatory to the great Naique (Nayak), by name Utappa Naique, came to us. He was a man of very good nature, and desirous of finding the way to heaven. This man on reaching the chamber of the Aiyer prostrated himself, his face touching the ground; nor did he stand up till requested by the Father twice or thrice. He spoke with the Father about the misery of this life, and about the certainty of death. Finally, he earnestly begged the Father to come to his own country, as he was much interested in being instructed in our doctrine" [2].

15. The hard life and heavy work of the Christian *sannyasi* was too much for his enfeebled health. At the end of 1608 he wrote to the Provincial: "I cannot stand so much work alone. Hence I am in need of a companion. He must be a very fervent man, desirous of suffering for Christ's sake. For the families of those who are already baptised are very numerous, and there are other catechumens with their families. Many other nobles and rich Hindus come over every day. Rest is unknown to me day or night. I am afraid I shall not be able to bear up with so much toil" [3].

Shortly before, de Nobili had sent two of his new Christians to Cochin and Angamale, where they received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Mgr. Ros [4]. The presence of those new Christians excited great enthusiasm among the Jesuits at Cochin; many offered themselves to the Provincial to share in the fatigues of de Nobili [5]. Fr. Laerzio selected for

1. Figueroa, l. c.
2. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, December 24th 1610, Ap. C, No XXXI.
3. Figueroa, o. c., p. 144.
4. Ibid., p. 159-60.
5. Ibid., p. 161.

this task Fr. Manoel Leytao, a Portuguese, who was then Master of Novices at Cochin [1]. He left this town on the 15th of August, 1609, in the garb of a *sannyasi*, and reached Madura on the 26th of the same month [2]. From there he wrote an interesting letter to Fr. Laerzio, of which the following lines are an extract: "After some time spent in holy conversation", says he, "Fr. Roberto told me it was meal-time. His disciples came to prepare the table. It was soon ready: a plantain leaf placed on the floor served as table, table cloth, dish and plates. I sat down close to the leaf, on which a Brahman placed the food. I began to eat; but in spite of my great hunger, I felt such abhorrence for this new kind of food, and also perhaps for the new way of taking it—with the fingers—that I had to force myself to swallow the morsels. This abhorrence lasted for several days. I begin however to get a little used to it; for every feeling must give way to the love of God, and to the desire I have to serve Him in this land" [3].

He however could not stay long. His health broke down, and he was recalled to Cochin at the beginning of the following year, and was replaced in the month of September, 1610, by Fr. Antonio Vico, lecturer in Theology [4], of whom we shall speak at length in the following volume.

16. This would be according to chronology the proper place to relate the beginning of the persecutions against Fr. de Nobili. which commenced towards the close of this period; but we think it advisable to leave the narrative of them for the following volume, where we shall be able to give an uninterrupted account of those sad events.

Before closing this chapter, however, it may be considered the task of the impartial historian to give a criticism of de Nobili's method of introducing Christianity into the heart of Hinduism. He had certainly many enemies among his own contemporaries; but they were swayed in their campaign against the missionary by evil passions, which induced them even to

1. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 121.
2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 161-2.
3. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 53-4.
4. Besse, o. c., p. 200.

calumniate the Christian *sannyasi*. Many Protestants have condemned Fr. de Nobili's system [1]. It is a pity to see several of those old accusations, now exploded, innocently reproduced in modern Catholic books. But impartial historians cannot but praise the work accomplished and the method so successfully employed by the illustrious Italian missionary.

Fr. Juvencio, the famous historian of the Society of Jesus, recognised in Fr. Roberto de Nobili a man who had been destined by God to begin the Madura Mission [2]. This statement is merely an echo of the eulogy of de Nobili, written in 1613, by Mgr. Ros. to the General of the Society of Jesus: "The Madura Mission", says he, "which is within my diocese, is a very spiritual one but very trying, and in all respects worthy of perfect men and true sons of the Society, entirely devoted to God, without any human satisfaction and with a perpetual mortification of the flesh. I am convinced that it has been commenced by divine inspiration, in order to open the way to the conversion of the whole of the Malabar (Southern India). At last, after numerous prayers, penances, tears, and holy sacrifices, God Our Lord opened the eyes of the *Zelotes* of the Holy Church; and they considered that the proper work of the Society was to do what St. Paul had done; 'I have made myself all to all'. Thus the good Fr. Roberto de Nobili went by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, into the great city of Madura" [3].

The method followed by Fr. de Nobili was the only one which ever met with success among the high castes of India. His way of preaching Christ's Gospel to Indians was the result of his deep knowledge of the religion, customs and literature of the priestly caste. His broad ideas made him clearly distinguish between religious and social customs, between superstition and good manners, between faith and nationality; and through a thousand difficulties and numberless hardships success crowned his enterprise.

1. Cf. D'Orsey, o. c., p. 257, and Japp, o. c., p. 991.
2. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 66.
3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets o. c., p. 28.

His splendid work and the encouraging results he and his companions obtained, reached the ears of Philip III of Spain, then also sovereign of Portugal. This pious monarch, whose zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith is well known, wrote to them an encouraging letter, the original of which we could not anywhere trace. But the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim still preserve a copy of the reply of the Viceroy to his sovereign. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo wrote in 1613 to this effect: "The letter Your Majesty sent will be given to those (Jesuits) of Madure whom I thanked on your Majestey's behalf for their good conduct in propagating Christianity. They are religious who well deserve it, because they do their work with the utmost care and assiduity" [1].

1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE AND JINJI

SUMMARY.—1. Continuation of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore. His behaviour towards Venkata II.—2. Abdication and death of Achyutappa Nayaka.—3. Ragunatha Nayaka murders his eldest brother.—4. His suspicious relations with Vijayanagara.—5. Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji and his uncle. —6. Early revolt of Krishnappa against Venkata II.—7. Krishnappa Nayaka and Fr. N. Pimenta. Description of Jinji.—8. Foundation of the city of Krishnapatam.—9. Great power of the Nayak of Jinji. His feudatories.—10. Rebellion of Krishnappa against Venkata II. His madness.—11. Victory of Venkata over Krishnappa in 1608.—12. Krishnappa Nayaka and the Dutch. The fort of Devanapatnam.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric.—4. Anquetil du Perron.—5. Jongue's Dutch documents.—6. *Sahithyaratnakara. Ragunathabhyudayam, Ushaparinayam.*—7. *Velugutivaru Vamsavali.*

DURING the first half of the reign of Venkata II, the ruler of Tanjore was still Achyutappa Nayaka. The *Sahityaratnakara* relates that during his time the Dutch, who were then starting their trading career in the East, appeared before Negapatam and attempted to land in order to found a trading factory; but they were valiantly repulsed and driven away by Achyutappa [1].

Negapatam had been lent by his father to the Portuguese, and their number had been constantly on the increase [2]. Fr. Pimenta, who passed through it in 1597, tells us that "many Portugals dwell there and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu and Malaca." [3] Achyutappa Nayaka invited Fr. Pimenta to establish a Jesuit house with a Church at Negapatam; while another one was already started

1. *Sahithyaratnakara*, canto VI, v. 68.

2. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 2.

3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 207. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 632.

at Tranquembar [1]. And while Fr. Pimenta was in the town, the inhabitants actually purchased 'a place for five hundred Duckets, for a new Residence of ours' says the same Fr. Pimenta [2]. Fr. du Jarric gives a slightly fuller description of this place. He says that it was "by the river side having the sea to the West and was fitted for the functions of the Society". Fr. Pimenta sent two priests there [3].

As to his relations with Venkata II, Achyutappa Nayaka is mentioned with the title of Mahamandalesvara, in a much damaged and dateless record on a stone in the Kankudutta Vinayaka temple at Kavalkudaru [4]. An inscription of 1596-7, by the same Venkata in North Arcot, records a gift of money by Achyutappa Nayakar Aiyan for the merit of Dikshitar Aiyan [5]. Formerly Achyutappa had sent his son Raghunatha to help the Emperor in the siege of Penukonda [6].

But Anquetil du Perron gives us a piece of information not consistent with the above. He says that before the year 1595, both the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore had rebelled against Venkata [7]. We really doubt the accuracy of Anquetil in this passage; for the inscription of Venkata mentioned above is dated only a year later. It is possible, however, that the rebellion took place some years later, and was misplaced by Anquetil, confusing it with an earlier rising of the Nayak of Madura. As a matter of fact, one of Fr. Coutinho's letters from the court of Venkata seems to allude to an insurgent attitude on the part of Achyutappa; for he affirms that "the rumour was that the King (Venkata) would warre upon the Naichus of Tangaor, called Astapanaicus (Achyutappa

1. Ibid., Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 633.
2. Ibid.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 633. A letter of Philip III to the Viceroy dated Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, mentions some riots occurred among the Portuguese of Negapatam; it seems that the leaders of the rioters were two brothers named Mello, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.
4. 298 of 1911.
5. 710 of 1904.
6. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.
7. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.

Nayaka)" [1]. This letter, published by Purchas, has been extremely mutilated. The original gives more valuable information. Coutinho says that Venkata "has a large army with many good generals in order to re-conquer Kanchivaram; which city, along with all the country around, surrendered to Astapanaichus (Achyutappa Nayaka), the king of Tangior" [2]. We deduce from this passage that the cause of the trouble was not precisely refusal to pay the tribute, but the city of Kanchivaram; though what the fact was that created this enmity is not clear. Moreover we know from the same letter that the war never broke out: "It is quite certain", continues Coutinho, "that the King does not think of that expedition any more" [3]. Venkata's designs were checked by the death of Achyutappa Nayaka [4]. And since this took place in 1600, this quarrel between the Emperor and the Nayaka must have occurred in 1598-9.

2. According to the *Sahithyaratnakara*, Achyutappa Nayaka, on account of old age, resigned the crown in favour of his son Raghunatha Nayaka, and retired to Srirangam, where he spent the rest of his life. Consequently Raghunatha was crowned according to the ancient rites, Govinda Dikshita performing the ceremony [5]. Up to this time we have relied upon the authority of Govinda Dikshita's son, Yagnanarayana Dikshita; who, however, to give some dramatic interest to his poem, placed the renunciation of Achyutappa after the outbreak of the civil war, and the death of Venkata II. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Anquetil du Perron said that Achyutappa "had resigned and given up the government affairs some years before 1600" [6]. But Fr. Pimenta, when passing through Tanjore in 1597, wrote that Achyutappa "has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death" [7]. Fr. du Jarric

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho, Purchas, X, p. 222.
2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Purchas, l.c.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.
6. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
7. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219

agrees with him [1]. Hence there can be no longer any doubt about the date of Achyutappa's renunciation: the year 1597 witnessed the coronation of Raghunatha and his father's pilgrimage to Srirangam. The *Raghunathabhyudayam* agrees with Pimenta and Anquetil du Perron; according to this poem, Raghunatha was crowned King long before the civil war and the war with Ceylon [2].

Both Pimenta and du Jarric relate that, when Achyutappa retired to Srirangam, he was faithfully "accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his carkasse. Hee had bestowed five thousand pieces of gold in sweet woods against that day" [3]. Anquetil du Perron states that Achyutappa's death took place about 1600 [4]. And Fr. Coutinho, writing from Chandragiri on July 17th, 1600, reports: "This (Achyutappa Nayaka) died lately. His corpse, along with 370 wives still alive, was burnt in a big fire of sandal-wood" [5].

Achyutappa is praised by the son of Govinda Dikshita for his long and beneficient rule, for the destruction of his enemies, and for his liberal patronage of learned men [6]. He gave many villages in free tenure to the temple at Srirangam, offered a costly diamond-throne to the god Ranganatha, with a rich necklace, crown, and leg jewels, all set with diamonds. He had many *agraharams* built in his name, and lodged many Brahmans in them. He performed many *pujas* and other religious services in various temples, such as those of Chidambaram, Tirupati,

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 648.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286-.

3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, l. c. Cf. Du Jarric, l. c.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. This passage had been translated by Purchas, X, p. 222, as follows: "His three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames".

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.

Kalahasti etc. [1]. According to the *Raghunathabhyudayam*, the beautiful golden tower over the shrine of Srirangam was one of his gifts to the god. This poem also records many presents made by him to the god Siva, who was worshipped at Rameswaram, and the restoration and reconstruction of many holy bathing ghats of this place which were then in ruins [2].

3. Govinda Dikshita implies that Raghunatha was the eldest son of Achyutappa Nayaka; but Anquetil du Perron tells us that the eldest son of Achyutappa had been imprisoned by order of his father [3], and this information is confirmed by Fr. Coutinho, in his letter of July 17th, 1600, to Fr. Pimenta [4]. No reason for such an imprisonment is given; what is clear is the extreme predilection of Achyutappa for Raghunatha. "When Raghunatha grew up", says Ramabhadramba in her poem, "his great qualities pleased his father very much. He had several Princesses of the Pandya and of other kingdoms married to him. Achyutappa made Raghunatha Yuvaraja" [5]. The same poem, when describing the return of Raghunatha from Penukonda after defeating the Muslim hordes, who were menacing the capital of Venkata II, gives an instance of his special fondness. When Achyuta heard that his son Raghunatha was returning after accomplishing his mission with the Emperor of Karnata, he proceeded some distance from his capital to meet him, and gave him a fitting reception [6]. Sivappa Nayaka, his grand-father, also had an extraordinary predilection for his grandson Raghunatha. If we are to believe Govinda Dikshita: "When he and many other famous scholars were once sitting in the court of Chevva (Siva), Raghunatha was brought before them, a small child. Seeing the child Chevva in great delight said: "This child will become great and rule the whole kingdom, and we

1. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 6-7. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 270.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 285.
3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 285.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 286.

shall become famous on his account"[1]. This singular love for Raghunatha naturally excluded the eldest son from the succession to the throne; and this was perhaps the reason of the latter's imprisonment.

On many occasions such predilections have been the origin of unspeakable family tragedies, as it was in the present case. The crime that ensued was carefully concealed by both the court poets, Yagnanarayana Dikshita and Ramabhadramba, who did not mention even the existence of such a brother. After Raghunatha's accession to the throne his brother remained under custody; and either because of a natural fear proceeding from the fact that his own right to the crown was less founded than that of his brother, or owing perhaps to a court conspiracy in which his own brother was implicated, Raghunatha murdered his elder brother; this crime is testified to by both Anquetil du Perron and Fr. Coutinho [2]. As Fr. Coutinho speaks of both events in the same letter, dated July, 1600, this fratricide must have been committed in the beginning of Raghunatha's reign, perhaps immediately after the death of his father.

4. Raghunatha's relations with Venkata II are a little suspicious. There is no doubt that in 1604 the latter received an envoy, probably with the tribute, from the Nayak of Tanjore [3]. Nevertheless it seems that, before 1606, Tanjore had withdrawn the payment of tribute [4]. In 1608, at the end of September or at the beginning of October, Tanjore again sent his tribute to Venkata, according to a letter of Fr. Coutinho, referred to in the preceding chapter [5]. About 1610, however, Tanjore was not on friendly terms with Vijayanagara. At about this time Venkata besieged the city of St. Thome; the Portuguese were aided by Ragunatha, who received for this service a letter from the Spanish sovereign (who was then also the King

1. *Sahitya Sudha*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 267.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.; Letter of Fr. Coutinho mentioned above.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI.

5. Cf. Ch. XVII, No. 11.

of Portugal) thanking him for his aid [1]. This is a proof that Raghunatha's policy towards the Empire was very suspicious. After Venkata's death however he became as we shall see, the most enthusiastic supporter of the heir appointed by Venkata on his death-bed.

5. When Venkata II ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, the Nayak of Jinji was probably Krishnappa Nayaka [2], called Vencapatir by Anquetil du Perron [3]. We do not know what kind of relations existed between him and Surappa Nayaka, who has been spoken of in the preceding chapters [4]. Anquetil du Perron says that Krishnappa Nayaka succeeded his father [5]. Who was then his predecessor? We cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question. Mr. Rangachari calls Krishnappa Nayaka, Varadappa Nayak (1580-1620), and states that he was the son of his predecessor Venkatappa (1570-1580); without however, mentioning the source of his information [6].

We know nevertheless that after the death of his father, Krishnappa Nayaka, who must have been then a young man, was imprisoned by his uncle in the same fortress of Jinji. But "by helpe of his friends", says Fr. Pimenta, "he forced (his uncle) to become in the same place (prison) his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes" [7]. Anquetil du Perron, who records the same fact, adds that Krishnanna was freed by his own subjects [8].

6. Krishnappa was probably one of the chiefs who revolted against Venkata II in the beginning of the latter's reign; for, we see him imprisoned by Venkata, early during the siege of Penukonda by the Golkonda forces [9]. On the occasion of his rebellion, the Emperor sent against him an army under the command of one Venkata, an elder brother of the Kalahasti

1. Cf. Ch. XXI No. 13.
2. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286.
3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.
4. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 3 and Ch. XIII, No. 7.
5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 92.
7. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218.
8. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
9. Cf. Ch. XVI, No. 1.

chief Ankabhupala. Venkata marched against Krishnappa and defeated him [1]. It seems that Krishnappa fell into the hands of the victorious generals for he was afterwards kept 'in the Emperor's prison' [2]. Such is the expression used by Ramabhadramba in her *Raghunathabhyudayam*; it has been supposed, however, that this Emperor's prison was in the capital itself, Penukonda [3]. During the time of his confinement the Jinji territory seems to have been ruled by Venkata, the general who had defeated the Nayak; because the same *Ushaparinayam*, that gives us the information about his victory, says that after this event Venkata 'constructed in his territory (*viz.* Krishnappa's) a large tank, and named it Chennasagaram after his father" [4]. This seems to imply a long stay in the Jinji country.

It happened afterwards that Raghunatha Nayaka, after the defeat of the Golkonda forces, asked the Emperor Venkata for the release of Krishnappa, which was granted through the Tanjore Crown-Prince. "The lord of Tundira (Jinji) then prostrated himself with his Queen before Raghunatha, and showed his gratitude by giving Raghunatha his daughter in marriage" [5].

7. Some years after Krishnappa's return to Jinji, Fr. Nicolas Pimenta, a Jesuit traveller often mentioned in this work, made his acquaintance while making his visitation of the Jesuit missions in the South of India; from him we fortunately possess a valuable account of his dealings with the Nayak and of the very city and fortress of Jinji.

Their first meeting took place in the city of Chidambaram in 1597. Pimenta arrived there on his way to St. Thome, where Krishnappa Nayaka happened to be at the time. "The Naichus of Gingi", says Pimenta himself, "was come thither, in whose Dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be co ugnt to his Presence. Before us two hundred Brachmanes went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to prevent Sorcerie against the King, which they use to doe every

1. *Ushaparinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 308.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 286.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 272, note.
4. Ibid., p. 308.
5. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, Ibid., p. 286.

day that the King first entreth into any house. We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him. He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building" [1].

They met again after some days at Jinji itself. Fr Pimenta's narrative is worth reading; it shows the greatness and wealth of this famous city, called at that time by the Europeans *the Troy of the East*; it shows as well some of the customs and ceremonies performed in the court of Krishnappa Nayaka.

"Wee went thence to Gingi," writes Pimenta, "the greatest Citie we have seene in India, and bigger than any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted. In the midst therefore is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable. The Naicus showed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke...The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll) ..

"The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot; a spring also of cleare water... He (the Nayak) was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men: in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes. Christapanaichus (Krishnappa Nayaka), (that is his name)

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 208. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 634.

shewed us another day his store of Jewels, and gave us leave in his new Citie" [1].

8. This new city referred to by Pimenta was then under construction. It was named Christapatama, *i.e.* Krishnapatam, after the name of the Nayak, its founder [2]. "It is located", says du Jarric, "in the country called Arungor near the mouth of the river Vellar" [3]. In order to foster the new foundation, Krishnappa allowed every body to select his own building-site; and a piece of land was assigned to everybody in the outskirts of the city for agricultural purposes. Consequently many buildings were under construction when the visitor went there [4]. To superintend the building of this town, Krishnappa had appointed one of the nobles of his kingdom called Cholgana (Solaga), of whom we shall speak a little further on [5].

Krishnappa Nayaka earnestly asked Fr. Pimenta to build a church in this new city, and to erect a residence for a priest, he himself giving a good endowment: "two hundred pieces of gold being assigned to the Priest thereof," says Pimenta, "his Letters Patents written in the Tamulan and Badagan Languages" [6]. This grant was made in the presence of all the grandees and nobles of the court [7]. Accordingly Fr. Pimenta called Fr. Alexander Levi, 'a man of renowned holiness and of great knowledge of the vernacular', from Travancore, and left him at Krishnapatam to superintend the construction of the new church [8].

1. From the same to the same, Purchas, X, p. 217-8. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 640-2. See Heras, *The City of Jinji at the End of the 16th Century, Ind. Ant.*, LIV, p. 41-2, where this extract of Pimenta's letter is illustrated and commented upon.

2. Du Jarric, l. c.

3. Ibid., p. 646. It forms the present Hindu quarter of Porto Novo.

4. Ibid., p. 646-7.

5. Ibid., p. 642.

6. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218.

7. Du Jarric, I, p. 642-3.

8. Ibid., p. 647. It is very strange to see Krishnappa Nayaka favouring so much the Portuguese Jesuits, whose nation was

9. One of the Jesuit Letters of 1606 states that from among the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, he of Jinji was the most powerful, and accordingly he had divided his dominions among other smaller Nayaks. One of these smaller Nayaks, subjects to Krishnappa Nayaka, was, according to the same letter, Lingama Nayaka of Vellore [1]. Fr. Pimenta mentions two other feudatories of Krishnappa, 'the Princes of Trividin (Tiruvadi) and Salavaccha (?)' [2]. The above mentioned Solaga was also one of the chiefs of the highest rank [3]. He appears both in the *Sahityaratnakara* of Yagnanarayana Dikshita and in the *Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba [4]. During Fr. Pimenta's stay at Jinji, Solaga's son, a boy of fourteen, 'accompanied by many nobles and old men', reached the capital to ask Krishnappa to name him after himself; with the further request of a grant of a golden chair and several pieces of land. He became a close friend of the Jesuits; so close that when the Nayak allowed the Fathers to depart he commended them to the care of Solaga's son, who accompanied them safely to the castle of his father [5].

The latter was living in a small fort at the mouth of the river Colerun. "He had seene his eighties, and was a man of great authority among his subjects, feared by everybody" [6]. "Colgana (Solaga), a great man, received us with great kindnesse", says Fr. Pimenta himself. "Hee is old and severe, and hath caused Crocodiles to bee put in his River for his securitie, charging them not to hurt his owne people. They nevertheless killed a man; whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about

reputed as polluted by the orthodox Hindus. Du Jarric, I, p. 635, affirms that the Nayak used to say that 'he had formerly seen other Portuguese priests, but none was alike to these.'

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.
2. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 209.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 642.
4. We shall speak of him again in the begining of the following volume.
5. Du Jarric, I, p. 643
6. Ibid., p, 647.

their neckes, and cast them into a miry place, there to bee stoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of these we saw" [1].

This description of the person and character of Solaga marvellously agrees with the account given of him in the *Raghunathabhyudayam*: "He had occupied an island near the sea, and was giving great trouble to the surrounding country. He used to carry away women from the neighbouring country, and was giving the people no peace" [2].

10. Such were some of the tributaries of the powerful Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji. Holding such a power as he did, it is not strange that his old ideas of independence should again rise in his mind. The fact is that in 1600 the nobles and courtiers of Venkata II were earnestly urging him 'to capture the town of Jinji', as Fr. Coutinho informs us in one of his letters [3]. Anquetil du Perron says that Venkata had plenty of reasons for waging war against the Nayak of Jinji, in 1600 [4]; but nowhere are these reasons found. One was, very likely, the refusal of the annual tribute as pointed out by the same Anquetil.

And then all of a sudden it happened that Krishnappa Nayaka became demented. "Krishnappa Naiken, the Sovereign of Jinji", says Anquetil du Perron, "became insane, as a result of a poison which was administered to him" [5]. This was indeed the first rumour of this affair; but soon it was clear that his madness was feigned, as we read in Fr. Coutinho's letter mentioned above. "Christapanaicus (Krishnappa Nayaka)", says he, "being poisoned, got mad, although the fraud is now patent: the King feigned to be out of his head in order to please four of the grandees of his kingdom, who were afterwards killed by his order". This apparent insanity saved Krishnappa Nayaka from the war

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 647-8.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166

5. Ibid., p. 169.

which Venkata and his nobles were ready to make upon him. "They persuaded the King (Venkata) to invest this city (Jinji)", says Coutinho, "but he, though having right to do so,...replied that it would be a most cruel thing to go to war with a feudatory while he was insane" [1].

Four years later, in 1604, Krishnappa sent an embassy to Venkata, as the Jesuit letters inform us [2]; but war burst out at last towards the end of 1607, ending with great dishonour to the Nayak.

II. On this occasion Venkata, not being able to stand the tardiness of the Nayak in paying his tribute, 'despatched his captains to conquer the lands of the Naique of Ginga (Jinji)', says Fr.Coutinho in another letter. One of these captains, and perhaps the commander-in-chief, was Velugoti Yachama Nayadu; for the *Velugutivaru Vamsavali* says that in the course of Venkata's reign he captured Chengi (Jinji) [3]. "While the imperial army was approaching the fortress, God wanted to punish the Naique who was within," continues Coutinho. "Had he remained in the fortress, nobody would have defeated him, for it is impregnable; but he, too arrogant, went out to meet the army of the King (Venkata). Then his own captains, despairing, deserted him; and the said Naique fell prisoner into the hands of his enemies. And he," adds Coutinho, "distributed his earrings and other jewels he bore on his chest among his opponents, in order to induce them not to kill him". Such was the great victory won on New Year's day, 1608.

News of the happy event reached Vellore at midnight. The Emperor set out for Jinji next morning with a large retinue of courtiers and relations. "The imprisoned Naique prostrated himself at his feet, and through the Queen and her brothers, agreed to paying him a sum of 600,000 *cruzados*, and to handing over to the Queen the fortress of Ganaripatao, which lay close by. After this, the King retired again to Vellur, and the Naique

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. Cf. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C. No. XXII.

3. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274.

of Ginga (Jinji), moved by his loss of money and elephants, marched towards Cirangan (Srirangam), one of his temples, saying that he did not want to govern any more, and so on. But the two Naiques of Madura and Tangior, who are his friends, presented him with many gifts and caused him to return to his State, where he is now " [1].

12. Precisely at the end of this year, an embassy from the Dutch traders arrived at Krishnappa's court, requesting his permission to establish themselves at Devanapatnam, near the present European Club, Cuddalore. A Jesuit letter informs us that the Nayak "received these (the Dutch) very hospitably, and allowed them to build a citadel at the post where they landed" [2]. The Nayak's *olla*, in which this first concession to the Dutch was made, is dated November 30th, 1608 [3].

The letter quoted above relates that the Dutch, after obtaining this document, ' had very diligently begun to build the citadel ' [4]. In one of the following chapters we shall see the consequences that followed the construction of this fort, which was finally destroyed by order of Emperor Venkata.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII. See Ap. C, No. XXV, where Fr. Laerzio alludes probably to this war in his letter to Fr. C. Aquaviva, dated Cochin, December 30th, 1608.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1609. Ap. C. No. XXX.

3. "Copy of the Caull of the King of Gingier.—Jacob de Bitter, Captain, representing Admiral Pieter Willemsen Verhoeven: We promise to protect the Dutchmen who will settle in Tegenampatna, to allow them to build a town, to refuse entrance in it to the Portuguese, to whom we shall remain hostile. On the other hand, we Dutchmen promise to bring all kinds of goods, to traffic with all traders, on the condition that they will pay us four for every hundred of all the merchandise we shall bring there, excepting the rice which is used at home, for which they will not pay. Moreover we shall pay four for every hundred of the merchandise that we shall carry away from there. Those who have paid once will not pay again. We promise and take the oath to keep all these faithfully, Amen. On the 30th of November of the year 1608 in the large town of Gingier." De Jongue, III, p. 281-2.

4. *Litterae Annuae* mentioned in note 2.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY.—1. Vindication of Viceroy Tirumala. His rule.—2. Tirumala and the Jesuits.—3. Conquests of Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. His relations with the Viceroy.—4. Muhammadan invasion of the Kanarese country.—5. Second inroad of Manjun Khan. Conquest of Mysore.—6. The Viceroy Tirumala leaves Seringapatam.—7. Occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar. His relations with Venkata II.—8. The Nayaks of Ikeri.—9. The Queen of Ullal and her fortress against Mangalore.—10. Kempe Gowda II of Yelahanka.—11. The chiefs of Chitaldroog and Bellur.—12. Portuguese interests in Kanara.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—4. Ferishta.—5. Guerreiro.—6. Anquetil du Perron, Travels of Pietro della Valle.—7. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Sivatattvaratnakara.*

THE concocted story of the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, about how Prince Tirumala was bribed by the Nayak of Madura in the beginning of Venkata's reign, and then retreated to Seringapatam in a rebellious attitude against his uncle, has found its way into several modern works. The character of the Kanarese Viceroy has thus come to be associated with the specially repulsive ideas of rebellion and treachery, totally at variance with the historical personality of the unfortunate nephew of Venkatapatiraya. Can it be possible that the energetic and warlike Emperor would have waited fourteen years till he saw his supposed rebellious nephew expelled from the capital of his viceroyalty? On the other hand, no word on this supposed attitude of Tirumala is found either in Anquetil du Perron, who merely remarks that he was residing at Seringapatam [1]; or in the Jesuit letters, which testify, however, that Venkata had a natural predilection for Tirumala's younger

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 167.

brother, Ranga [1]. Moreover we know two of Tirumala's inscriptions of the year 1585, in the Mysore district, in which he is styled Mahamandaleswara [2],—a title which suggests a subordinate rank under the Emperor. His rule as Viceroy of the Kanarese country could not be stigmatized as either weak or fictitious; for in 1609-10, just on the eve of his departure from Seringapatam, the Kalasa-Karkala chief, Bhayirarasa Vodeya, (son of Vira Bhayirarasa Vodeya, who did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara), is said in one of his inscriptions to rule as feudatory of Venkata II [3]. Fr. Coutinho says in one of his letters that Tirumala 'is liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains' than his brother Ranga [4]. Now, the above mentioned inscription of the Kalasa-Karkala chief proves that, instead of taking advantage of this friendship and respect of the subordinate chiefs for rebelling against his uncle, he obtained the acknowledgment of his sovereignty at least from one who did not pay homage to his predecessors since the time of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi [5].

Very little information about his internal administration has reached us. In 1598 he remitted the customs-dues on the village of Akalankajayya; and when Bachihalli-Pamappa Nayaka heard of this, this chief too granted a similar exemption to the village of Vijayapura [6]. In 1607 he made a grant for the service of the god [7]. Again, in 1610 he made another grant to Holinahala Linganna of the Seringampattana *matha* [8]; and another inscription of the same year seems to mention one of his dependants named Ramanujayya, who is styled 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta' [9].

1. Cf. Ch. XXIV, No. 6.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 39 and 40.
3. Ibid., Mb, 63. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II, Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 127.
4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C. No. V.
5. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 59
7. Ibid., Hs, 36.
8. Ibid., Ch, 194.
9. Ibid., Gu, 40.

2. Tirumala's character is fully described in the letters of the Jesuits who were living at this time at the court of Venkata. He was determined that at least one of the Fathers should reside at Seringapatam, and erect a church for the Christians of his country [1]. On July 17th, 1600, Fr. Coutinho wrote to Fr. Pimenta: "Trimaragius, the eldest son of the King's brother, heir of his kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court. He sent us a letter which I am going to copy here:—

"Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great prince, sends this letter to the Fathers. I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine; I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church; moreover five hundred-fold pagodes yearly. Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity. So I swear by Lord Zanganatam (Ranganatam) and by the feet of my father Ramaraja. You will learn the rest from my ambassador. Come at once, and do not make me wait" [2].

This seems to have been Tirumala's first invitation to the Jesuits to come to his court. Later in the same year two of the Fathers went through Seringapatam in the company of Venkata's ambassadors to the Viceroy of Goa, as will be related in the following chapter. On this occasion Tirumala constantly urged the Fathers 'that one of them would stay with him on returning' [3]. But they did not gratify his wish; partly because of the want of missionaries, and partly on account of the antipathy of Venkata II towards his nephew, the Viceroy. In 1606 Tirumala sent once more a message to the Fathers residing at the imperial court, and addressed them the following letter:—

"In the year Subaratut, in the 10th month, on the 10th day after full moon. Letter of Trimalaraju, Ramaraju's son, the greatest Prince, Raju among Rajus, sent to the Fathers at

1. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137. Cf. Heras, *The Jesuit Influence*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 133-4.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. C, No. V.

3. Ibid.

Ciandagrini (Chandragiri). I received your letter you sent me through your Raju, and I kept it over my heart. All your presents are also in my possession. I was very glad to know that you have spoken in my interest with the King and the Princes of the kingdom, about my journey to the court. You told me, when passing through here on your way to Goa, that you would soon come back for good. I am astonished you are not yet here. Come soon; do not hesitate. My envoy will tell you the rest" [1].

This second letter of Tirumala is a most valuable document for determining the relations between him and his uncle. He was desirous to go to the court; a strange disposition of mind to be expected from a rebellious feudatory, as he is commonly depicted. To attain this object he used the Jesuit influence at the court of his uncle. The Jesuits spoke to Venkata about Tirumala's coming; but apparently the Emperor disliked the proposal, or at least was loth to give his approval to it [2].

In 1608 the Jesuits had not yet gone to Seringapatam. Another letter of Fr. Coutinho, written in this year, says that "Tirumalarayu, the Prince, is continously writing *ollas* to us from Cirangapatao (Seringapatam), where he resides, calling us (to his court) and showing by writing the same friendship he showed personally to us while going to Goa, along with the ambassadors of the King" [3].

Tirumala's wishes were never granted. The year 1610 witnessed the end of his viceroyalty; and several years passed before the opening of the Jesuit mission in Mysore.

3. One of the influential chiefs of the Kanarese country at the beginning of Venkata's reign was, beyond doubt, Raja

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. Can this agree with the following words condemnatory of the conduct of Tirumala towards his uncle: "This coolness (of Tirumala towards Venkata) led directly to the taking of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore." Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67. We shall see later on that the capture of Seringapatam was due precisely to the coolness of Venkata towards Tirumala. Cf. No 6 infra.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

Wodeyar of Mysore. We have seen elsewhere how at the end of Ranga's reign, he began the policy of annexing petty States to his own. As Madura was in the Tamilian, so too he wanted to become supreme lord of the Kanara country; and yet always, it seems, under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara Emperor. With this aspiration he continued now to absorb, systematically the territories of the neighbouring chiefs. According to Wilk's list the territories seized by the Raja of Mysore in the beginning of Venkata's reign were the following: In 1545, he conquered from one Tima Raja, Rang Sammudir containing twelve villages. In 1590 he captured Kembala by assault. In 1505 Narmalli and Karugalli were taken from one of his relations. In 1600 Arrakerra, the primitive jagir of Jagadeva Raya, was likewise annexed; and in 1606 he took Sosilla and Bannur from the Raja of Thlakkad, and Canniambaddi from Dudeia Prabhu [1].

Such accession of power naturally aroused the suspicions of the Seringapatam Viceroy. That was perhaps the reason why he besieged the town of Kesara, which depended on the Wodeyar. But the Mysore forces defeated the army of the Viceroy, one elephant being among the plunder. "But Raj Wadeyar", says Wilks, "sagely reflecting, as the manuscript states, that he could maintain thirty soldiers at the same expense as one elephant, sent the animal as a peace offering to the Viceroy. The next year," continues Wilks, "we find him received with particular favour at the court; and immediately afterwards, not only refusing to pay his tribute on pretence of some damage done to his plantations by the people of the Viceroy, but receiving a further grant of land to compensate for the injury" [2].

The Government of Seringapatam was unwillingly yielding to the powerful chief; and an attempt on his life was made, but without success. "The opportunity", says Wilks, "was expected to be obtained by the mission of an officer of the court, attended as usual by a large but select retinue, for security after the perpetration of the murder, and ostensibly charged

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 38.

with a secret and confidential message from the Viceroy. The Raja, unsuspicious of treachery, without hesitation ordered all attendants to withdraw; but a more vigilant observer took the precaution of concealing himself behind one of the pillars of the hall of audience; and on perceiving the officer to grasp his dagger, instantly inflicted on the assasssin the fate intended for the Raja" [1].

4. The Viceroy, however, was not the only one who was scheming to seize the newly-acquired territories of Raja Wodeyar. A new foe had sprung up in the person of the Sultan of Bijapur. Early in 1587, while Venkata was waging war with Golkonda, Ibrahim Adil Shah II despatched one of his generals, Balil Khan, with twelve thousand horse, "to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara); and in case they refused payment, to reduce their forts" [2]. He was in Kanara for one year, during which 'he nearly brought affairs in that quarter to a final adjustment' [3]. But he was suddenly recalled to the court to join the Sultan's army against Ahmadnagar. When he received his order "he was just on the point of receiving a large sum as part of the arrears of tribute, which would have been lost to the treasury had he immediately made public his orders of recall; and the troops would also have met with great difficulties", as he himself confessed in the presence of the Sultan, according to Ferishta [4]. Finally he retreated to Bijapur with several Rajas of the Kanarese country, who "accompanied him to pay their compliments to the King" [5]. These chiefs were afterwards honoured by Ibrahim Adil Shah with precious robes [6]. One chief was, according to Ferishta, the son of Arsappa Nayaka [7]. Another was named, as the Portuguese sources tell us, Sam Carnao Botto (?) We have been unable to identify this person, whose territory was near the fort of Basrur. When

1. Ibid., p. 39.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 161.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 162.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 163.
7. Ibid.

the Portuguese sovereign was informed by his Viceroy of the intention of this chief to relinquish his dominions to Bijapur, he sent his instructions as follows : "As regards the business of Sam Carnao Botto, which is of great importance, as is clear from the way it goes on, I recommend to be very careful, and to consent by no means that those fortresses be handed over to Idalxa (Adil Shah), using every possible endeavour to this end"[1]. But shortly after tidings were sent to the King of the actual surrender of these forts to Bijapur: "Again the same governor informs me that, on account of the entrusting of the fortresses to Idalxa by Sao Carnao Botto the fortress of Barcelor (Basrur) is in a great distress" [2].

5. Nevertheless this subjection of the North Kanara petty rulers to the sway of Bijapur was due only to the force of the latter's arms; for from the time of Balil Khan's retreat in 1588 up to the year 1593 all of them 'had neglected to pay their tribute'. Ibrahim Adil Shah resolved this year to humble these chiefs. "For this purpose", says Ferishta, "he despatched Manjun Khan with a considerable army. This general on arriving at Bakapur halted, and summoned all the Rays to meet him with their tributes; promising protection to those who obeyed, but threatening the refractory with vengeance. Most of them prepared to comply with his demands and intended coming in a body to visit him; but as Ganga Naik, who was one of the principal Rays of Malabar (Kanara), and had eight or ten thousand horse and foot in his pay, went first to pay his respects, the rest jealous of his power, and suspecting that he had gone to form some plan against them with Manjun Khan, broke off their engagements and withdrew to the mountains. Manjun Khan, not thinking it prudent to follow them into an unknown country, marched with Ganga Naik against Jerreh which belonged to Arsappa Naik; who with his allies, to the number of twenty thousand men, endeavoured to interrupt the siege. For three days bloody

1. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No. I.

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No. II.

skirmishes were maintained by the Bijapur troops, who could not make use of their cavalry owing to the nature of the ground, so that their success was frequently doubtful. But at length the good fortune of the king prevailed", says the Muhammadan writer; "and Arsappa, seeing further resistance vain, consented to pay tribute, and made a present of two fine elephants to Manjun Khan, with many curious and valuable effects for the King".

Manjun Khan, accompanied by Ganga Nayak and Arsappa Nayak, who now joined the invader, then proceeded southwards and besieged the city of Mysore [1]. The siege lasted three months; but the city was finally reduced, twenty five elephants being taken among the booty. It is a pity that we have no further details concerning the surrender of Raja Wodeyar's capital, about which the Hindu sources maintain a discreet silence.

Mysore however did not remain long in the possession of the Muhammadans; for Manjun Khan was again recalled at Bijapur in the same year to assist the Sultan's troops against his brother who had rebelled at Belgaum [2]. After his retreat the Kanarese Rajas again withdrew their allegiance to Bijapur, as is implied in Ferishta's statement: "The Hindus of Malabar, (Kanara) seizing the opportunity, invaded the districts of Bankapur" [3]. These Hindus who invaded the districts of Bankapur must have been a detachment sent there by Venkata II himself, according to the treaty enacted just then between him and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur [4]. Naturally the presence of the imperial army in North Kanara suggests the freedom of the petty Rajas of Kanara from Muslim slavery.

The rising of Ibrahim Adil Shah's brother at Belgaum proved on this occasion the salvation of Kanara. The rapid conquests made by Manjun Khan were the beginning of the successful

1. Ferishta says here that Mysore belonged to Venkatadri Naik, *i. e.*, the Ikeri Nayak. This is a palpable mistake, copied by Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 56.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 175-6.

3. Ibid., p. 180.

4. Ibid., p. 286.

campaign which would have marked the end of the Hindu power in this country. This was likewise the opinion of the Portuguese of those days, who were close to the scene of that tragedy, and interested enough in the revenue coming from Kanara to fill up the empty state-coffers. We know of this feeling of the Portuguese through a letter of their King written in 1596. He wrote to the Viceroy as follows: "(Mathias de Albuquerque) also writes to me that the Idalcao (Adil Khan) had sent some captains to fight against the Kings and Lords of Canara, at the request of the Queen of Baticalla (Bhatkal); he says likewise that two fortresses would have been taken by them in Gatty, had not the rising of the brother of the said Idalcao compelled him to recall the captains" [1].

6. Soon after the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the Kanarese country, an event took place in the capital of its Viceroyalty which completely upset the political balance in the West of the Empire. We refer to the occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.

The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says that Raja Wodeyar, on hearing of the defection of Tirumala in the siege of Madura, "resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty, and sent his spies to test the feeling among Tirumala Raya's feudatories" [2]. But we have rejected this passage as a concoction of the poet inconsistent with other proved historical facts, and as clearly evincing the author's biassed purpose, *viz.* to extol the founder of the dynasty. But this is not the only story forged around this event. "The acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610", says Wilks, "is related in different manuscripts with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel. The pervailing tale states that the Viceroy Tremul Raj, being afflicted with *rajpora* or royal boil (the disorder most fatal to opulent and luxurious Indians) retired to the holy temple of Talcaud (Talakkad), with the view of being cured by the interposition of the

1. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 8th, 1596, Ap. b, No. V.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 303.

idol, or of breathing his last before the sacred shrine; and that previously to his departure, he had selected Raj Wodeyar of Mysore for the confidential trust of administering the government in his absence; and in the event of his death, of transferring it to his kinsman and heir the Wodeyar of Ammatur"[1]. Wilks wisely rejects this tale, and we reject both as contradictory to each other.

It is, however, worth while noticing that according to Wilks the only thing proved is 'a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel'. This intrigue was probably the one referred to in the MS. of Naggar Putia, which according to the same Wilks, "even details the names of the persons, probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Vencatapetti Rayil who then reigned at Chandergherri) to compel him to retire"[2]. Now it was Venkata's interest, as we have declared elsewhere, to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects, by showing him as incapable of defending Seringapatam against his opponent Raja Wodeyar; and he did so thoroughly attain his aim, that even now, three centuries after, the prevalent opinion is against the last Viceroy of Seringapatam[3].

Yielding to the advice of his courtiers and secretly admonished by Venkata, Tirumala quietly retired to Talakkad[4]. According to the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, the Viceroy retired from Seringapatam with his two wives Alamelamma and Rangamma[5]. The *Palace History* gives

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 41-2. See another story from a Mackenzie MS. in Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 134, note 65.

2. Ibid., p. 43.

3. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 314.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 19, and *Ancient India*, p. 282-3, affirms that the retreat of Tirumala took place during a siege of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar. Really the *Congu Desa Rajakal Kyfeyut* speaks of a seige and storming of Seringapatam at this time. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 33.

5. Puttaiya, A *Note on the Mysore Throne*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 263. There are incongruencies in this passage of the *Annals*, such as the

one name only, *viz.* Alamelumanga [1], and seems to suppose that before reaching her husband, who went ahead, she met her end; Raja Wodeyar being most probably responsible for her death [2]. Frs. S. de Sa and B. Coutinho, while going to Goa with Venkata's embassy, met the father-in-law of Tirumala, *viz.* the father of one of these two ladies [3]. But he seems to have had no sons, since the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, speaking of the two nephews of his namesake Venkata II, say: 'Of these two, Srirangaraya begot sons' [4]. Both Wilks and Rice state that Tirumala died soon afterwards [5]. But there is a grant from Gundlupet Taluk which seems to indicate that he was still living in 1614, and probably with the authority of Viceroy, though very much reduced; he is called in it "the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja Tirumala Rajayya", and is said to have made to Vengadeyya-Bhatta, 'establisher of the path of the Vedas', a grant of the village of Yereyur, rent free [6].

7. After the retreat of Tirumala to Talakkad, Raja Wodeyar occupied Seringapatam, apparently with the consent of the Emperor Venkata, as will be proved by the latter's further grants [7]. Most likely on this occasion the Mysore Raja sat on the throne of the Viceroys of Seringapatam left vacant by the retreat of Tirumala [8].

appointment of Sri Ranga Raya, the son of Tirumala, as ruler at Seringapatam, the seven kings governing there till 1610, etc. Nevertheless there is no reason for rejecting the names of the two wives of Tirumala.

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 284.

2. Ibid., p. 285.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 22. Several authors as Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 42; Sewell, II, p. 252; and Rice, I, p. 364, call Tirumala an aged man; we have proved elsewhere that he could not be more than forty on this occasion. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, l. c.

5. Wilks, o.c., p. 43; Rice, o.c., p. 364.

6. *Ep. Carn.* IV, Gu, 13.

7. This was already noticed by Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122, and Richards, *Salem Gazetter*, p. 67.

8. Puttaiya, *A Note on the Mysore throne*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 262-3. This seems to be the old throne of the Mysore dynasty which is sacredly kept in the Royal Palace as a holy relic of the past.

We cannot with comfidence join in the chorus of the authors who look upon this event as the first act of the dismemberment of the Empire [1]. Raja Wodeyar always acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II, as may be seen from an inscription of 1604, recording a grant made by him, when Venkatapati Raya was seated on the jewelled throne [2]; also from another of 1612, which commemorates another of his grants to Siva, after acknowledging Venkata as his paramount lord [3]. In the same year 1612, another event took place that proves Raja Wodeyar's subjection to the Emperor of Vijayanagara: it is a charter confirming the acquisition of Seringapatam, obtained by Raja Wodeyar from Venkata II. This document is not yet available, but is referred to in an inscription of Chama Raja Wodeyar of 1622: "On a certain day", savs the incription, " when this Chama Raj Odeyar of Maisur was engaged in conversation on good stories of works of merit, it came into his mind that he would establish an agrahara. And on inquiry, finding that formerly in the Saka year 1534 (A. D. 1612), when Venkatapatideva Maharaya being in Ghanagiri (Penukonda), ruling the kingdom of the world, he had granted to Raj Odeyar, a King of his own line, Ummatur and Seringapatana, as an hereditary estate, Raja Odeyar had then sent a petition saying he wished to establish an *agrahara*, and that Venkatapati Raya had expressed his strong approval and granted a copper sasana" [4].

This ratification of the capture of Seringapatam and the concession of the village of Bevinahalli to Raja Wodeyar by Venkata are recorded in two inscriptions of the former belonging to the years 1614 and 1615; both prove likewise the loyalty of the Raja to Venkata till the end of the latter's reign, for they mention him as the supreme sovereign. The first mentions a grant of Raja Wodeyar "for the god Chaluvaraya and 28

1. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 356; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122; Sewell, p. 220; H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, *A.S.I., 1911-12*, p. 196.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 62.
3. Ibid, 135.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 62.

Brahmans belonging to Seringapatam, which Venkatapati Raya has assigned to him as an umbali" [1]; the second records another grant made by the same "for the god Ramachandra of Vahnipura of the village of Bevinahalli belonging to Bannur, which he had received from Venkatapatideva Maharaya as an hereditary permanent estate" [2].

8. The Mysore chief was not alone in his desire to obtain supremacy in Kanara. The Ikeri Nayak, Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, was successfully administering his kingdom. It was he who gave the first impulse to expansion, which was followed by his successor Venkatappa. A letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira informs us of the ambitious projects of Chikka Sankanna. It runs as follows: "You say that the Queen of Baticala (Bhatkal) has not paid the tribute due for many years, and that she is now in great distress on account of one Naique (Chikka Sankanna Nayaka) formerly a subject of the king of Narsingua (Vijayanagara) but now risen to power, and who gives clear proofs of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all those neighouring kings" [3].

Chikka Sankanna constructed a beautiful new town at Ikeri with a magnificent palace, which was provided with a handsome theatre. At the village of Sangala he had a big tank built and a garden laid out, which contained all kinds of trees and creepers [4].

Although he had a son called Siddhappa Nayaka, in his old age he appointed his elder brother's son, Venkatappa Nayaka, his successor, and nominated the latter's younger brother, Rama Raja, Yuvaraja [5]. This fact must be placed before, or in the

1. Ibid., Sr, 157.

2. Ibid., TN, 116. According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 281, the 'grants' of Venkata II to Raja Wodeyar 'appear to have been conquests rather than grants'.

3. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, November 21st, 1598, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, pt. 2nd, p. 916.

4. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 339.

5. Ibid., p. 338-9. Mr. Sewell, II, p. 177, says that Siddhappa Nayaka succeeded his father Sankanna, but reigned only one year (1603-4).

first half of 1592 ; for there is an inscription of September 30th, 1592, in which Venkatappa appears as Nayaka of Ikeri making a grant for the services of a *matha* [1].

The new ruler was to be the most illustrious of the princes of Ikeri, and was destined to become for time the rival of Mysore in his wars of conquest; but since most of his achievements as a successful conqueror belong to the period subsequent to the death of Venkata II, we shall refer to them all in the following volume. Mr. Sewell qualifies him as a 'weak ruler' [2], a statement that appears entirely false; for he was a valiant and enterprising general as well as a shrewd politician. It has also been said that he threw off his dependence on the Vijayanagara Emperor [3], though no reliable proof of this has been yet afforded. As a matter of fact, we have convincing proofs of his loyalty to Venkata II in the aforesaid inscription of 1592 and in another of 1614, at Udipi, South Kanara, in which mention is made of the grant of the village of Huvinakere by Venkatappa Nayak of Keladi to the local Krishnamatha [4]. In both, the Ikeri chief acknowledges Venkata II as his sovereign.

9. One of Venkatappa's royal neighbours was Bukka Devi Chautar, Queen of Ullal, of whom we have already spoken in a preceding chapter. After the settlement of the differences between her and the King of Bangher, recorded during the reign of Ranga I, it seems that she constructed a fortress in Ullal to oppose the one built by the Portuguese at Mangalore, but was compelled by the Portuguese Viceroy to destroy it probably in fulfilment of one of the terms of the treaty of peace. The King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on February 18th, 1595, approving of this treaty with the Queen of Ullal [5]. But on the 26th of the same month, probably after getting fuller information, his Majesty wrote to his representative in India as follows : "I approve of the peace made with the Queen

1. *M. A. D., 1923*, p. 106-7.
2. Sewell, II, p. 177.
3. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.
4. 110 of 1901.
5. From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, p. 478.

of Ollala (Ullal) after forcing her to pull down the fortress that she had constructed and retained with such great loss of reputation to that State (of Portuguese India); but I am informed now that the aforesaid fortress of Ollala has not been demolished as completely as it ought to have been, and that the foundations are still remaining, in such a way that in a very few days and with very little work it may be put up again; I recommend you to see that the foundations are totally destroyed" [1].

Accordingly the Viceroy sent to Ullal Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, who razed the fortress to the ground, as another letter of the King informs us [2]. In the same letter we are told that the Queen was waging war against the King of the Serra (?) at about 1597. The King of Portugal "had written to the King of Banguel (Bangher) charging him to settle such differences; and praying him that he would by no means join the aforesaid King of the Serra against the Queen" [3]. This final recommendation of the Portuguese sovereign makes it seem probable that the King of Bangher had formerly rendered some aid to the King of the Serra against the sovereign of Ullal. This was customary in the court of Portugal; it recommended people not to do in future that which it knew was already being done. Anyhow this incident was probably the cause of the definite break of relations between the two neighbouring chiefs.

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle informs us about the relations between these two sovereigns and the subsequent events resulting from this break of intercourse; "yet, though they were Husband and Wife," says he, "they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own lands: on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another; the King of Banguel wanting not

1. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 26th, 1595, Ibid., p. 503.

2. From the same to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, February 5th, 1597, Ibid., III, pt. 2nd, p. 667.

3. Ibid.

other Wives and Women who accompany'd him wherever he went. 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children, which she hath, by this King of Banguel, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover; for, they say, she wants not such" [1].

10. During this period, in the petty state of Yelahanka, we find Immadi Kempe Gowda II; but we cannot admit that he was the immediate successor of Kempe Gowda, without at the same time admitting that his reign lasted 89 years; and specially when there are documents to support the probability of another chief between the two Kempe Gowdas [2].

He improved the Somesvara temple at Ulsur and, calling from Belur a famous sculptor named Jakanachary, ordered him to carve on its walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati and Siva. "The carvings," says Mr. B. Puttaiya, "consist of numerous sculptures and figures of Gods and Goddesses who attend the marriage, including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance, ornament, and realism, so that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intricating details on hard stone" [3].

It is said that Kempe Gowda II died in 1658. Hence we shall speak of him again later.

11. Very little is known about the other states of Kanara during Venkata II's reign. The year 1602 seems to have witnessed the death of Obana Nayaka; who, being appointed by Sadasiva chief of Chitaldroog, had acquired considerable importance during the reign of Tirumala and Ranga. He was now succeeded by his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka, during whose reign the possession of Mayakonda, Sente Bennur, Holalkere, Anaji Jagalur and other places was contested in

1. Della Valle, II, p. 313. Fr. Coutinho in one of his letters says that 'Tornagoda, the Governor of Ohala, invites us (to go there)'. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. This must be a governor on behalf of Bukka Devi.

2. Cf. Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIII, p. 729, and *Ep. Carn.*, IX, An, 47.

3. Puttaiya, o. c., p. 730.

several battles with the Basvapatna chief. But they remained attached to the Chitaldroog territory. His governorship lasted until 1653 ; and in the long tenure of his office he had considerably extended his territories [1].

In Bellur we find a grand-son of Era Krishnappa Nayaka and son of Venkatadri. An inscription of 1587, which acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkata II 'ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom', records that Krishnappa Nayaka, grand-son of Era Krishnappa and son of Venkatappa Nayaka, made a grant for watchmen from money obtained from the temple endowments [2].

12. No other conquests by the Portuguese took place in Kanara during this period ; but the King of Portugal as well as his Viceroy at Goa were carefully watching the fortunes of this country. We have seen the interest the Portuguese sovereign took in the affair of the fortresses of Sao Carnao Botto. Portuguese trade received its greatest supplies from Kanara. "Accordingly (Manoel de Sousa) writes to me," says Philip II, "that the greatest quantity of pepper that comes by these fleets is taken from Kanara, and according to him it will be increased every year ; a thing which will be of great value for the loading of our ships. He says, moreover, that he was trying to satisfy the kings of the coast as much as he could because of this pepper, the majority of which comes from the lands of Sao Carnao Botto [3]."

This was the reason of the intercourse between the Portuguese and the chiefs of the Kanara country ; for trading purposes also, several Portuguese forts were built on the coast, as we have narrated during the reign of Sadasiva. In the begining of Venkata's reign, these fortresses were repaired and furnished with sufficient ammunition, according to an order of the Portuguese sovereign to the Viceroy dated February 18th, 1595 [4].

1. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 502.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Cm. 79.

3. From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No I.

4. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, Ap. B, No. IV.

CHAPTER XXI

VENKATA II'S RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

SUMMARY.—1. St. Thome under Venkata II.—2 Contemporary description of the town.—3. Formation of the Portuguese, Dutch and English Trading Companies.—4. Spain against England and the Netherlands.—5. Embassy of Venkata II to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.—6. Embassy of Ayres de Saldanha to Venkata II.—7. Differences and riots at St. Thome.—8. Erection of the Diocese of Sao Thome de Meliapor.—9. Destruction of the city of Madras and fortress of Mylapore.—10. Great distress of the Portuguese in India in 1608.—11. Venkata II causes the Dutch to be expelled from Devanapatnam.—12. Correspondence between Venkata II and Philip III of Spain.—13. Siege of St. Thome by Venkata II.—14. Decision to fortify St. Thome and necessity of a Governor.—15. The Dutch obtain Pulicat from Venkata II.—16. First attempt of the English to settle at Pulicat.—17, Embassy of Venkata II to the English at Masulipatam. Their second voyage to Pulicat.—18. Portuguese designs against Pulicat.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives). —2. Jesuit letters.—3. Travels of Gasparo Balbi and Ludovico de Barthema, Anquetil du Perron.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Documents concerning the Mylapore Diocese.—6. Letters of the E. I. C.

THE history of the dealings between Venkata II and the Portuguese chiefly centres round St. Thome and Pulicat; and in the meantime, Dutch and English traders appear in the southern seas, boldly challenging the Portuguese monopoly and trying to make friends with the local rulers.

The city of St. Thome, from its position within the territory of Vijayanagara, paid at this time an almost nominal tribute to the Emperor: it consisted of a quarter per cent of the merchandise imported by sea [1]. Nevertheless, its administration was

1. From King Philipp III to the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d'Azevedo, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

immediately under the authority of the Nayak of Tanjore [1]; and accordingly it paid an additional tribute to him, at least from the year 1600 [2]. It was the Nayak of Tanjore who appointed the governor or *adigar* of St. Thome; the Jesuit annual letter of 1604-1606 tells us that in 1600 the Tanjore Nayak nominated to this place one Puley or Pillai, a noble of Kanchivaram. [3].

This governor did not reside at St. Thome, but at the ancient city of Mylapore. "The Portuguese", says the Jesuit annual letter of 1606-1607, "have a captain or *ouvidor*, to govern and administer justice. In another separate town, but in its vicinity, there is a captain of the King (of Vijayanagara), who collects the taxes and governs the Hindus" [4]. Mylapore is the same city that Gasparo Balbi speaks of in the account of his travels through India in 1582: "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie invironed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (*adigar*), who hath power to execute justice" [5]. Apparently Mylapore was then fortified and garrisoned by the Emperor of Vijayanagara; hence it receives the appellation of a fortress in several Jesuit letters of those years [6]. All these letters distinguish between this fortress and a Hindu town which was a little farther away. We have suggested elsewhere that this Hindu town might be the one called Madarasa, next to which the Fort St. George was constructed several years after by the English traders, who called it Black

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 638. Cf. Hay, *De Rebus Iaponicis*, p. 740.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

3. Ibid.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.

5. Purchas, X, p. 148.

6. From Fr. M. Rois to Fr. J. Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII; From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid., No. XIII; From the same to the same same date, Ibid., No. XIV; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No XXVI.

Town, as inhabited by coloured people [1]. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva Raya mentions both Mailapura and Madarasa as connected with the father of one of the Brahmans favoured with the grant [2].

2. The above mentioned Gasparo Balbi has an interesting description of St. Thome which deserves to be quoted in full. It runs as follows: "The Front is towards the West, very strong by reason of the Blockehouses, which are upon the Port, along towards the sea. This port is so low that elephants cannot enter in at it, for the horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches: one very fair, of Saint Thomas, which is well served with Priests, the chiefe of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis, very well served with Capuchins and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus are in continuall prayer; to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up; for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady, I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter, and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shoare. Then the Church of St. John the Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roofs they covered it with straw. The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie dedicated to our Lady, where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith [3]. There is another Church called of Our Lady of Light, which (is) served by Saint Thomas his Priests...Saint Thomas

1. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 316, note 9.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 215. Several of the Brahmans' names in the list of this grant are connected with the territory. Cf. Ibid., p. 216.

3. The congregation of this Church consisted of five thousand recently made Christians, in 1606-7. Cf. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal... no ano de 606. & 607.*, p. 105.

is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another" [1].

Such was the city of St. Thome in the begining of Venkata's reign. At about the same time several events took place in Europe, which were to influence much the future history of Vijayanagara.

3. Up to the year 1587, the monopoly of Portuguese commerce had rested with the Government; but in this year the whole trade was handed over to a newly established company called '*Companhia Portugueza das Indias Orientaes*', a definite step towards the 'Comercial Company', '*Companhia do Comercio*', which was created in 1630 [2]. This new organization was intended to meet the fresh needs which were beginning to face Portuguese trade in the eastern seas.

A little earlier, on April 8th, 1583, the Dutchman John Huighen Van Linschoten had sailed from Lisbon to the East Indies; and after visiting the Portuguese colonies and some other places inland, returned home and published the account of his travels ten years later. Linschoten's account excited the enthusiasm of his fellow countrymen, who had shortly before thrown off the Spanish yoke. One chapter of his narrative in particular, "of the Spices, Drugs, Plants, and Stuffes for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily used in India, and of their growing" [3], had the effect of launching several trading companies in the Netherlands, which sent about fifteen expeditions to the East between 1595 and 1601 [4]. On March 20th, 1602, the various Companies of the Flemish States, became united under the name of '*De Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oest-Indische Compagnie*' [5]. During the next year the new United Company sent out a great expedition of thirteen ships to the East Indies under Steven van der Hagen, and in the instructions furnished to him made special mention of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masuli-

1. Purchas, X, p. 147-8.
2. Danvers, *Report*, p. 12.
3. Purchas, X, p. 310.
4. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 6. See *A Collection of Voyages Undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, Introduction.
5. Galletti, l. c.

patam on the East coast [1]. But neither of these places was to house the first Dutch factory on the eastern coast. We have seen elsewhere that in 1608-9, through the benevolence of the Nayak of Jinji, the Dutch were building a factory in Devanapatnam [2]. We shall speak later of the transactions between the Emperor Venkata, the Nayak of Jinji and the Portuguese which resulted from the building of this fort.

But the Dutch were not then the only rivals of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas. Early in 1527, Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, had addressed a memorandum to King Henry VIII of England advising the opening of a route to India by the North-West [3]. But the attempts made through this route proved a failure. Subsequently, from 1580 to 1584, several letters were received in London, spurring the merchants of the place once more to try a new route to India: such letters had been written by the Jesuit Father Thomas Stephens, the first Englishman who set foot in India. In one of them, dated October 24th, 1583, he describes several kinds of fruits and other productions of Salsette and Goa [4]. Such a description was a tacit invitation to the enterprising British traders. Accordingly, after an unsuccessful attempt of Sir Robert Dudley in 1596, a large

1. Ibid.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 12.

3. Cf. Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power*, I, p. 16.

4. "We have here a tree oftener seen than the elm or the vine, called the Palm on account of its likeness to it, or perhaps because it is really so, if you admit that Palm is a generic word and consists of two species. It gives oil, liquor (vinum), toddy (lac), syrup (mel), sugar and vinegar. Coir rope is also made from it to tie with, and its branches are used to protect huts from rain. It gives fruit all the year round, which are rather nuts than dates, resembling a man's head. When the exterior rind has been removed, they equal the size of two fists. Inside the fruit contains water like beer and good to quench one's thirst. It is so plentiful that, after drinking from one fruit, you would not look for another. In the interior of the nut is a kernal lining it all over like a covering and forming a prized article of food. The shell furnishes the blacksmiths with charcal. Those that live near the sea not only load their boats with the tree, but also utilise it for making ropes and sails. You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Those that live on land invariably make use of them to shelter themselves from rain", etc. Saldanha, *The Christian Purana*, p. XXIII-XXXVIII.

number of English merchants formed themselves into an association and subscribed upwards of £ 30,000 in support of the undertaking. A Charter of Incorporation was granted by Queen Elizabeth to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, aldermen and merchants, under the name of '*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*'. The first expedition of this Company, under Captain Lancaster, sailed from Wollwhich, on February 13th, 1601, but it did not reach India. In 1604 a second attempt was made under the command of Henry Middleton but with no better results. Finally a third expedition was sent, and Captain Hawkins its commander, landed at Surat, proceeding thence to the court of the Mughal Emperor. New voyages to the East Indies were subsequently made almost every year [1].

4. These Dutch and English activities were by no means propitious to the prospects of the Portuguese in the East. Since 1584, the relations between Spain and England had become daily more and more strained in the European seas. Moreover in 1566 the Netherlands had rebelled against the Spanish sovereign. And Portugal, now united to the Spanish crown, was destined to taste in India the bitter fruits of this disagreement between her conqueror and these two enterprising nations [2]. True, a treaty of peace between Spain and England had been made in 1604, one of the articles of which, the 9th, provided that the English were not to go to India, nor carry on commerce in any part of it [3]. But the British traders went on acting as though there were no such treaty. Precisely at this time John Mildenhall was in the court of Akbar, deputed by Queen Elizabeth, and trying to persuade the Mughal Emperor to allow the British to trade in his dominions on the same terms as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. Moreover he asked

1. Cf. *Letters Received by the East India Company*, I, p. XV-XLI; Das Gupta, *India in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 26-67; Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 21-22; Hawkins, *Voyages*, p. 379-419.

2. Danvers, *Report*, p. 15-7.

3. *Torre do Tombo, Livros das Moncoes*, Livro 32, fol. 72; Livro 33, fol. 72. Cf. Danvers, o. c., p. 29.

Akbar not to take offence if the English captured Portuguese vessels or ports on his coasts [1]. They however endeavoured to avoid open hostilities with the Portuguese, while they competed with them for the Eastern trade [2]. Early in 1604 Fr. A. Laerzio wrote that there were in the gulf of Bengal "many Dutch and British ships, our enemies, who had captured some Portuguese vessels" [3].

5. But at this time the influence of the Portuguese in southern India had reached its zenith, through their ancient friendship with the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Early in 1600, when the Superior of the Province of Malabar, Fr. A Laerzio, passed through Chandragiri and was received in audience by Venkata, the sovereign ordered all the courtiers to leave the hall and remained alone with the Fathers; then taking the Provincial apart, he told him he wanted to send his ambassadors to the new Viceroy of Goa "in order to renew and strengthen the old friendship with the Portuguese". Now he wished that Fr. Simao de Sa, who was then Rector of the College of St. Thome, should accompany them; hence he begged Fr. Laerzio to give him permission to do so. "Then the Provincial replied that when the news of the landing of the Viceroy should arrive, he would consider the cause. But the King urged again (saying):—

"And when this news comes nobody will be here to give this permission to the Rector (Fr. de Sa). We must make our decision now; afterwards we shall not be able to do so."

" Then Fr. Provincial gave his permission according to the wishes of the King, who betraying his joy (in his countenance), told Fr. Rector in a loud voice:—

" You have already permission to go to Goa along with my ambassadors" [4].

The new Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha landed in Goa in the

1. Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 292-3.

2. Danvers, o. c., p. 21.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. C, No. IX.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

same year 1600; and, according to a letter of Fr. Pimenta dated December 21st, 1602, shortly after his arrival wrote to the Emperor Venkata "announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanking him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society" [1]. This news probably reached Venkata's court early in 1601; and it was then that Venkata sent to Goa his legation briefly mentioned by Anquetil du Perron [2].

The ambassadors, along with Fr. de Sa and another Father, left Venkata's court in the same year 1601. Fr. Ricio, who remained at Chandragiri, wrote on October 20th, of the same year: "The King wishes to be in close friendship with the Portuguese, and sends his ambassadors to the Viceroy along with two of our Fathers, who are Fr. Simao de Sa and Fr. Belchior Coutinho, and presents (the Viceroy) with two rings that cost five thousand *pagodes*, along with a message showing his desire to be the brother in arms (ally) of the King of Portugal" [3]. This extract shows clearly Venkata's purpose in sending such an embassy to the Poruguese Viceroy; it was to establish firmly a defensive alliance with Portugal, probably against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, whose designs were at least suspected at Venkata's court [4].

In a letter of December 21st, 1602, Fr. Pimenta, who was still at Goa when the two Jesuits reached the city with the ambassadors, writes: "I could write a long account of this legation, as well as of the earnest entreaties of the Prince (Tirumala), whose country (Seringapatam) they had to pass through, that one of the Fathers should stay with him on his return" [5]. Unfortunately Pimenta did not set down this account at length; he only says that the embassy passed through Seringapatam; hence it would proceed to Mangalore, and from Mangalore would perhaps reach Goa by sea.

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap. C, No. V.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.
4. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 9 and 10.
5. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, referred to in note 1.

The success of this embassy seems to have been extraordinary. In another Jesuit letter of 1602 we read: "The ambassadors, after having left Goa full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy, went by land to Chandegri (Chandragiri), where in the presence of the King and of the nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa; this was highly esteemed by the King, who showed himself hereafter more inclined to our interests" [1]. Even Philip III congratulated the Viceroy on the success of this legation; he wrote to him from Valladolid on December 23rd, 1604: "I was very glad to know that the ambassadors of this king (of Vijayanagara) were gallantly entertained and heard by you, as you wrote to me that you did" [2].

6. The Viceroy naturally returned this courtesy with an embassy of his own, the account of which is also found in one of the Jesuit letters that runs as follows: "The ambassador was received by the King (Venkata) with great respect and splendour, as on his arrival at Chandegri (Chandragiri) one of the chiefs of the Royal Council, accompanied by elephants, camels, horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and meriment, went out to fetch him and lodge him in the best palaces and houses of that city. The King was at that time at Tripeti (Tirupati), two leagues from Chandegri. The King determined to receive our ambassador in this city, for which he sent his favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there. The King was outside a very great court; not dressed in rich clothes, because it is not customary, but covered with precious stones, armlets and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head: he wore among others two jewels of great beauty, one of which was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness. The ambassador knelt down, but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He (the King) joyfully received the letter and

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B, No. VII.

the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendly relations he wished to have with the Portuguese, and of other things concerning the welfare of the State. Then he sent back the ambassador loaded with honours and presents" [1].

Thus the old alliance which Venkata's predecessors had made with the Portuguese was renewed [2]. "It had been almost forgotten at the time", says the above-quoted letter [3]. Venkata himself in a letter to Fr. Pimenta, who was then at Goa, wrote as follows: "My old love for the Portuguese was sufficiently proved at Goa. I have determined to send a ring with other gifts to the Viceroy; my interpreter Condogor will be charged with handing them over to him. Kindly inform the Viceroy about my purpose, in order that the old friendship may be renewed" [4].

7. In the meantime in the city of St. Thome there were continuous differences between the Portuguese themselves, and even sometimes between them and the neighbouring Hindus. This uneasy state of affairs is indicated in a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to his sovereign, in the year 1613: "The inhabitants of the city of Meliapor (*viz.* Sao Thome de Meliapor) were accustomed to live in the most absolute freedom. Justice has no other meaning than the one those citizens, and specially those who are reputed as powerful, are pleased to give it. For since that land belongs to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), and there is no garrison nor authority to be respected, such and many other troubles take place there every day" [5].

Venkata was aware of these dissensions, and felt how hard the task of the governor or *adigar* of that city must be. The one appointed in 1599 was, it seems, a man without the experience

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.

2. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 5.

3. See Ap. C, No. VIII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602. Ap. C, No. V.

5. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XVII.

of years or of affairs; hence Venkata wrote to Fr. Simao de Sa to look carefully after the welfare of the city, and also ordered his *adigar* to take no serious steps without previously consulting the Jesuits [1]. As a matter of fact, one of the Jesuit letters of 1600 relates that some differences between the governor and the Portuguese were settled through the deligence of Fr. de Sa and Fr. Manoel de Veiga [2].

Nevertheless, the riots in the city of St. Thome continued in the following years. "When I reached this country on September 3rd, 1606", writes Fr. M. Roiz from St. Thome itself, "I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among themselves, as they were doing two or three years ago" [3]. And another letter, recounting the affairs of the same year 1606, states: "This city of Sao Thome is for the best divided into factions and there are often terrible fights, as in times of civil war. No remedy can be found for that, since it is situated in the country of the Hindu King, and far from the capital; and neither the judicature nor the captain is so provided with military force as to arrest and punish the criminals. Great troubles however have been checked by our (fathers). One Friday during Lent the preacher spoke so fervently and zealously against hatred and strife that the chief of one of those factions, who was hearing the sermon together with other people carrying arms and muskets, was so deeply moved that he determined to change his life at once and to become a friend of his foe; as he did in the Mother Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, where he made amends for the damage and loss he had caused and went to confession with signs of contrition and amendment. At present there is no hatred nor strife" [4]

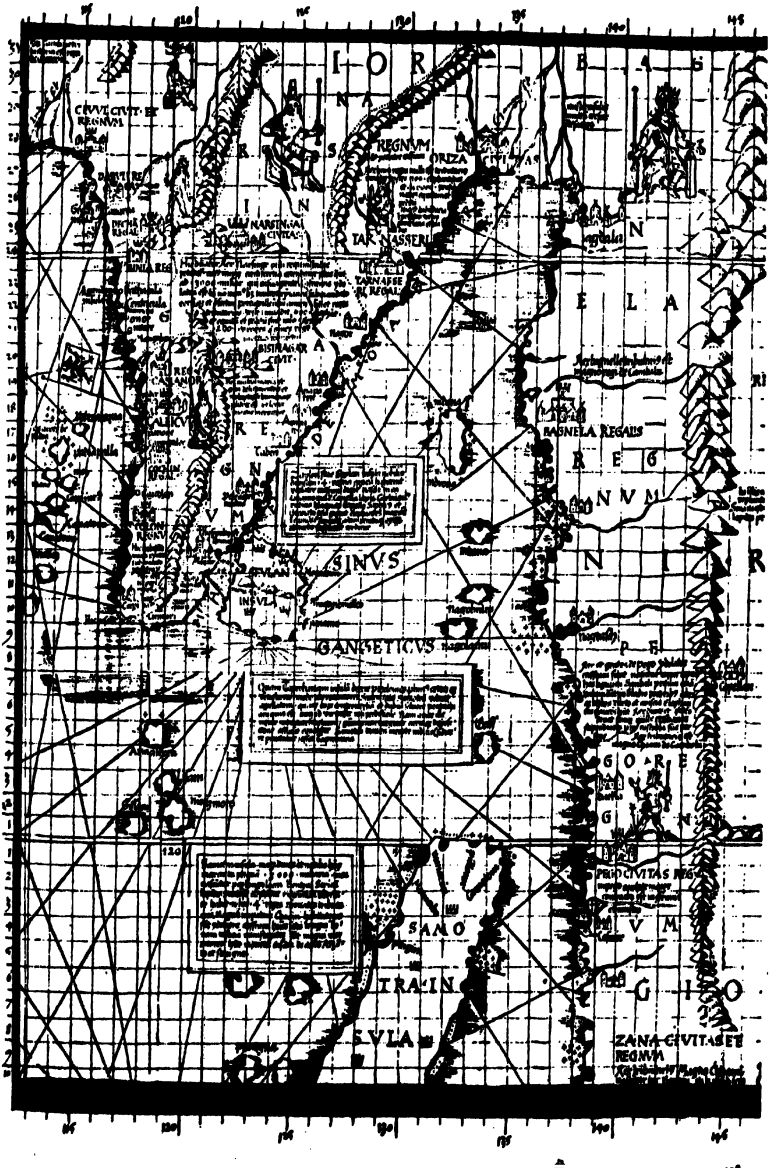
8. In order to put an end to these continual disturbances, it seems that the appointment of a Bishop for Sao Thome was

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 682.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.



XVII. India and Burma according to the 'Carta Marina' of 1516 by M. Waldseemuller.

proposed, as is clear from a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to the King written in 1613. In this letter the Viceroy states that experience has shown that the citizens of Sao Thome have not improved after the appointment of a Bishop there [1]. On the other hand, the Bishop of Cochin was unable to make his pastoral visit through the whole of his diocese on account of its extent [2]. Hence Philip III of Spain, moved by these two reasons, requested His Holiness Paul V, to erect a new Bishopric in Sao Thome [3]. His Majesty's petition was presented to the Pope by Cardinal Eduardo Farnesse [4]. Paul V finally erected the Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur (Mylapore) as the Cathedral of the new Bishopric on January 9th, 1606; and on the same day appointed the Augustinian Friar Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro as its first Bishop, according to the King's request [5]. The new Diocese embraced the whole Coast of Coromandel and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu [6].

The new Bishop reached St. Thome late in 1608. "The new Bishop sent by Holiness and His Majesty", writes Fr. Coutinho, "has reached St. Thome. And our Fr. Rector entertained him very kindly in our own house, where he resided; and when he went through the streets on foot, he was received with great pageant, dancing, garlands, triumphal arches, etc. He is our sincere friend" [7].

1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King, Goa, December, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIV. It seems that Dom Jeronymo even proposed to abolish the Bishopric of St. Thome, for on March 2nd, 1615, Philip III wrote to him as follows: "Na mesma carta me propondes que os bispados da China y Meliapor se devem tornar a unir aos de Malaca e Cochim.....e por quanto os inconvenientes que apontaes nao me parecerem bastantes para alterar o que, tao pouco ha, tenho ordenado, hei por bem que assy se continue". Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p. 284.

2. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap. D, No. II.

3. Ibid. Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, p. 95.

4. *Copia do mais essencial da bulla da ereccao do Bispo de S. Thome*, Ap. D, No. I.

5. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, l. c.

6. *Copia do mais esencial*, l. c.

7. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

9. Precisely in the very year of the establishment of the Diocese of Mylapore, an event took place in St. Thome which enraged Venkata II against the Portuguese. The occasion was a fight the Portuguese had with the Hindus, owing to the death of a Portuguese gentleman married at St. Thome, who was stabbed by the Hindus at night in their own city (probably Madras). He had gone fully armed to it in search of a girl, who either had run away from him or had been stolen from his house by a soldier of the *adigar* [1]. A fight having ensued there, many Hindus joined this soldier, and the Portuguese was killed and a brother of his wounded. News reached St. Thome at once. "Our men", says Fr. Coutinho, "rioted and wanted to set out during night to attack the fort. The captain stopped them till next day, when at dawn they went well armed to the captain's house; and the counsels of the young men prevailed over those of the Priests and the old people of the city". The captain, moreover, was forced by the relatives of the deceased to take revenge. At last, gathering together a strong force of armed people, he marched against the Hindu town (Madras), by storming and sacking it and slaying a number of people; and as the *adigar* had taken shelter in a fortress close to St. Thome (Mylapore) the Portuguese set the fort on fire.

News of this rising was reported to Venkata by the same *adigar*. But his letter "related the events falsely", says the same Coutinho, "and the Queen, who has paramount power all over the country at present, excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this affair; so that, after the aforesaid letters (of the *adigar*) were read in the presence of the whole court, the sovereign...became so furious that, though usually as meek as a lamb, on that occasion he looked like a lion, and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city; to do which he appointed some captains, declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on." One of the things he said, according to another Jesuit letter, was that "if the *adigar*

1. The sources we use for the narrative of this fact are not concurrent on this point.

had committed anyoffence, they (the Portuguese) ought to have represented it to him and he would have punished him". "His courtiers said", continues Countinho, "that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion".

"The inhabitants of St. Thome", says another letter, "fearing that the King might send an army to besiege them, deputed Fr. Rector, Nicolas Levanto, to go to the King and appease him with reasons and presents. The King on hearing of his arrival sent him a message inviting him, in case he had come to talk on the Fathers' business; but if he had come to talk on the affairs of Maleapor (Mylapore) he would not listen, seeing that they had offered him such a great affront; nor would he receive their presents". Nevertheless Venkata gradually relented; and being naturally meek and benevolent', after two months he sent for Fr. Levanto, who was received by the Sovereign with signs of great affection. Then the Rector of the college of St. Thome offered to the King all the presents he was carrying on behalf of the Portuguese, and obtained everything he had asked for, "even to remove that *adigar* or captain of the fort, placing in his stead another one according to the wishes of the Portuguese". Such was the end of that unpleasant incident, which might easily have been the ruin of the city of St. Thome [1].

1. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No XII; From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid., No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV; From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVIII; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI. Two years later Venkata received in his court at Vellore a Portuguese merchant dealing in emeralds. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII; Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal.... no anno de 606. & 607.*, p. 105. It is worth while to compare this account based on impartial contemporary documents with the following extract from Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power*, p. 28: "When St. Thome was held to ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagara kept suchmaith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be fund among christians".

10. It was their very good fortune not to lose for ever the friendship of the powerful monarch of Vijayanagara, in those days of great trials and dangers for the Portuguese in India; their cause was in great distress, and the success of their enterprises was then first thwarted by the enemies who finally ruined their once flourishing State.

Fr. Alberto Laerzio, an Italian and hence an impartial witness, in a letter to Fr. J. Alvarez dated Cochin, November 20th, 1608, says that the causes of these troubles were two: the maladministration of Archbishop Menezes, who was then acting as Governor General since the death of Dom Martim Affonso de Castro [1], and the increasing power of the Dutch and the English traders; "the Dutch ships", he says, "are cruising in these eastern seas, checked by nobody" [2]. At the same time the English had taken possession of Masulipatam; and Philip III, in a letter dated December 10th, 1607, recommends his Viceroy to do his best with Venkata in order to obtain their expulsion from the place [3]. At the end of the same year, the new Viceroy Conde da Feira was eagerly expected at Goa; but the Dutch were interested in impeding his arrival. He had left Lisbon with a fleet of fourteen ships, one of which, says Fr. Laerzio in the above mentioned letter, "parted from the Viceroy and reached Mozambique in the month of August; and finding there thirteen Dutch ships that had besieged our fortress, was conquered by them after one day's hard fight". The Dutch were then informed that the Viceroy was coming behind; hence they raised the siege and went to Goa, where they anchored off the mouth of the river. "During

1. In 1606 the Archbishop Governor sent the gift of a horse to Venkata II. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C, Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIV.

3. From Philip III to the Viceroy Martin Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146. Another letter of the same sovereign, dated Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, speaks of the same expulsion of the English traders from Masulipatao (Masulipatam). Ibid., p. 359.

our stay there", continues Laerzio, "news reached us that a ship, *Oliveira* by name, belonging to the Viceroy's party, had also arrived and was six miles away on the North and even within sight: our ships went there from Goa, threw all money and goods overboard and, before the arrival of the Dutch, had set the ship on fire and reduced the whole of it to ashes, that the enemy might have nothing of it. "Of the other twelve ships with the Viceroy no news whatsoever is heard", so Laerzio says at the end [1]. As a matter of fact Conde da Feira never saw the shores of India: he died on the way.

II. At the end of the year 1608 the Dutch obtained from Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji permission to build a fort in Devanapatnam, as we have stated in one of the preceding chapters [2]. It seems that in the place selected by them there was formerly an old fort [3]. They soon started to construct their own. But according to a letter of Venkata to Philip III of Spain, which we shall quote later on, no sooner did the Emperor hear of the construction of this fort, than he sent an envoy to the Nayak of Jinji, ordering the expulsion of the Dutch from his territory. It seems that Krishnappa Nayaka did not obey his sovereign's order; for in the following year 1609, Fr. Nicolas Levanto was deputed by the Bishop and the Municipality of St. Thome to obtain from Venkata the expulsion of the Dutch from Devanapatnam. Levanto went to Venkata's court and easily obtained from him a new order for the Nayak of Jinji, to whom he personally presented it. He was also well received by Krishnappa. Matters however were seriously discussed; "the nut was a hard one to crack", says the Jesuit letter we are transcribing here, "because of the large profit he was hoping to get from the new guests; hence he (Krishnappa) told the Father to hope for the best, but at the same time delayed giving him a definite reply". Venkata in the meantime suspected the cause of this delay, and accordingly issued a third letter of his own accord, in which he scolded the Nayak for his disobedience, and ordered him again

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIV.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 12.

3. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p. 13.

"to do according to the demand of the Father, and expel from his territory the foes of the Portuguese, who are better friends than the Dutch".

As soon as Krishnappa received this letter he sent for Fr. Levanto; and after assuring him that he was ready to obey the Emperor's order, gave him letters for the Bishop, the Captain and the Municipality of St. Thome. In these letters he announced his final resolution that the fort already in construction should be delivered to the Portuguse. Fr. Levanto himself went there, by the Nayak's express command, to witness the expulsion of the Dutch. "The foundations and the walls of the citadel had already been built on all sides to some height. There was a huge amount of lime and a good supply of bricks, for the fort was going to be of brickwork. One of our priests remained there" [1].

Great was the success of the Portuguese on this occasion, thanks to the benevolence of Venkata; and equally great was the disappointment of the Dutch. But they did not relinquish all hopes; for once more before Venkata's death they demanded from Krishnappa Nayaka permission to settle in Devanapatnam and Porto Novo, the new city founded by Krishnappa [2], but this time without success [3]. Probably it is on account of these constant refusals on his part to allow the Dutch to settle in his territory, that Krishnappa is said in a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, dated November 28th, 1634, to be "very fond of the Portuguese" [4].

12. This friendship of Venkata with the Portuguese was confirmed in the same year on receipt of a letter from Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal, in which His Catholic Majesty thanked the Vijayanagara Emperor for his royal protection of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus. The text of this letter

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXX. Cf. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Relacion...Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 114-5.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 8.

3. *Memorial against the Jesuits of Vijayanagara*, Ap, C, No. XXXVII.

4. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

runs as follows, according to a copy we have found in the Pangim Archives:—

"Very Noble King of Bisnaga (Vijyanagara).

"I, Dom Phelippe, etc., make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have extended to the Religious of the Society who dwell in your kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity; for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you, as I do by this letter of mine, and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things.

"And thus I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him. And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent treatment of the said Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

"May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection.

"Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607" [1].

This letter from such a powerful sovereign deeply affected the old Emperor of Vijayanagara. From the latter's answer we deduce that the Viceroy of Goa also wrote proposing to him on behalf of his sovereign an alliance against the Muhammadans, with special reference to the Mughal Emperor. This was precisely Venkata's desire. Witness his answer to Philip III as follows:—

"Letter of the King of the Kings, Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of sea and land, Dom Phelipe, King of Portugal, etc.

"I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much. Your Majesty spoke of two things in it: the first was about the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are

1. Ap. B, No. X. In a letter of King Phelippe to his Viceroy dated December 10th, of the same year, the Spanish sovereign refers to this letter to Venkata II: "Pelo que me escrevestes do bom procedimento del-rey de Bisnaga e favores que faz em suas terras aos padres da companhia, mandei escrever as gracas d'isso nas naus que este anno foram". Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.

living at my court, and Your Majesty's joy on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them. The second was about Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, *viz.* that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the welfare of my kingdom should require it. I was very glad to know both things, because, as far as the Fathers are cencerned, they, in these eleven years they have spent at my court, have always been good, religious, very chaste, prudent, learned people and preachers of their own faith; and I shall treat them in the way Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of. As regards the Viceroy, I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power, when necessary, against our old common enemies the Moors (Muhammadans).

"I learned how the Dutch, rebel subjects of Your Majesty came to Girola (Jinji), to talk with the Nayque (Nayak), and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (Devanapatnam), where they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque; and later on Fr. Nicolas Levanto, Rector of the College of St. Thome of the Society of Jesus, at my request went there taking with him letters of mine on the same object. And I saw that the Nayque forbade the building of a fortress by them, and expelled them from my possessions, since they, being rebels against Your Majesty, so they are also to my person.

"The old friendship which existed between the Kings my ancestors, and the Kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (Narasimha), must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself, and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once whenever necessary.

"From my Kingdom

"Venkataja, King"[1].

The Spanish monarch was naturally extremely glad to receive Venkata's letter, and to know his attitude towards the Dutch traders at Devanapatnam. Simultaneously he addressed a number of letters to several Princes of the East against his

1. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Relacion.....Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 113-4.

rebel subjects of the Netherlands, copies of which are to be found in the Government Archives at Pangim [1]. King Phelippe was made aware of the conduct of Venkata II towards the Dutch by a letter of Archbishop Menezes, as one of the former's letters to his Viceroy testifies. Even before he had received this letter of Venkata, he had again written to the old Emperor thanking him for his loyal friendship [2].

13. This friendship between Venkata and the Portuguese seems to have come to an abrupt end in 1611, when the former besieged the city of St. Thome. The Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, in a letter to his sovereign dated 1613, (month not given), says that the origin of this war 'was due to the absence of the Jesuits' from Venkata's court [3]. They had been removed from it shortly before [4]. A Jesuit letter of 1611 gives a full account of this unfortunate affair.

"Its cause", says the letter, "was greed of money; for the old King dotes sometimes, and on such occasions those who

1. See one of these letters to the king of Cananor in Ap. B, No. IX. In 1613, the Spanish monarch ordered his Viceroy to thank the Kings of Calicut and Cananor for the expulsion of the Dutch from their ports. Ap. B, No. XVI. In the same year he gave a detailed account of the Dutch and British ships, which had left Europe for the East. Ap. B, No. XVI. In the volume *Moncoes do Reino, No. 6, (Ia. pte.)* in the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim, there are several documents on this subject. A letter to the King of Cochin, dated Madrid, January 17th, 1607 (fol. 117), another to the King of Melinde, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 (fol. 120), another to the Prince of Carnate (*sic*), Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606 (fol. 123), another to the King of Porqua, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606. A letter of the same sovereign to his Viceroy dated January 16th, 1607, laying down their attitude towards the petty chiefs of Canara runs as follows "E porque o estado das cosas mostram ser necessario conservar a estes reys em paz e amisade, vos encommendo trateis com que assi se faca lembrando-lhe a elles que nao tenham commercio nem amisade com os rebeldes de Hollanda, por serem aleuantados." Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 73.

2. "E porque o dito arcebispo governadar me escreve na mesma conformidade e o bem que o dito rey se tem avido em nao consentir que os hollandezes sejam recebidos em nenhum porto seu, lhe mandei escreuer a carta que vae nestas vias." Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.

3. Ap. B, No. XII.

4. Cf, Ch. XXII, No. 11.

govern the kingdom do as they please. Once they demanded from the citizens of St. Thome an enormous amount of money. They (the Portuguese) refused (to pay) such an extraordinary exaction; then they were attacked (by the King's soldiers), and defended themselves; both parties fought courageously; many of the enemies and some Portuguese were killed" [1]. In the city, which was not yet fortified [2], the besiegers resisted for several months, according to a letter of Fr. Laerzio [3]. Fr. Queyroz, who supposes that Venkata himself was commanding the beleaguering army, relates that in the course of the siege, his Queen brought forth a child whose legitimacy was doubtful [4]; this seems to indicate that the siege lasted about nine months. The same author records that the army of Venkata contained two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who were finally repulsed with heavy losses by the Portuguese under the command of Manoel de Frias, Captain of St. Thome [5]. From a letter of Philip III to his Viceroy, dated March 6th, 1613, it appears that the Bishop Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro had a large share in the hardships of the siege, the success of which was partly due to him: "I highly appreciate the person and the services of the Bishop", says His Majesty, "and his conduct during the siege" [6]. And on February 20th, 1614, the King writes again to his Viceroy as follows: "The Bishop of Meliapor (Mylapore) wrote to me describing his action in my royal service during the siege of that city" [7]. The same letter speaks of the aid given to the Portuguese by Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309.

5. Ibid.

6. Philip III's letter mentioned in note 2, Ap. B, No. XIII.

7. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI. Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro is also said to have defended St. Thome and Sadras against the Dutch. Cf. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap. D, No. II.

"And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore) in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him" [1]. Unfortunately neither this letter nor a copy of it has hitherto reached our hands; we know only that it was sent to the Bishop of Mylapore, by whom it had to be dispatched to Tanjore: "The letter of Your Majesty to the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore)", says the Viceroy in his answer to the King, "is being sent to the Bishop (of Mylapore), who will hand it over to him" [2].

Finally the Bishop and the Captain of St. Thome deputed Fr. Antonio Rubino, and two of the chief men of the city to propose terms of peace to Venkata. "But since they did not bring the sum demanded, they were seized and cast into prison. We are still ignorant of what will be the end of this affair" [3]. So does a Jesuit letter, written at the close of 1511, end its narrative of this war. At any rate we know that Fr. Rubino and his companions remained in prison for two months, and were eventually released on the Portuguese promising to pay 401 pagodas; half to be paid at once and the other half by instalments during the following six months. Rubino's return to St. Thome was a solemn triumph: he was received and acclaimed as the liberator of the country [4].

14. The siege of St. Thome by the army of Venkata II clearly showed the imperative necessity of fortifying the city. No walls had surrounded the settlement till then; it was really a *tour de force* to resist the attack of the imperial army for several months, without walls, bastions or ditches. In a letter of Philip III of March 7th, 1613, we read: "The same Viceroy wrote to me that the inhabitants of the city of St. Thome were demanding aid and permission, not only for fortifying themselves,

1. Ibid.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymò d' Azevedo to Philip III, January 21st, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

4. Cf. Saroglia, *Vita del Venerabile P. Antonio Rubino*, p. 30.

but also for incorporating their city into the jurisdiction of that State (of Portuguese India), and establishing a custom-house and a tax-collector to gather the 'one fourth per cent', which is now paid to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayangara), for my treasury" [1]. The second item which the King speaks of shows the disaffection the inhabitants of St. Thome felt towards Venkata. It had been the natural result of his recent siege of their own city. This was the first indication of their desire to be independent of the sway of the Vijayanagara Sovereign. Great discussions ensued on this point after the death of Venkata, which will be narrated in the following volume. As to the first point of the King's letter, his decision to fortify St. Thome was not carried out until after Venkata had passed away; his letter did not reach India before that event. This may be seen from the answer of the Viceroy [2].

There was still another problem about St. Thome, which required prompt solution. The Viceroy, in a letter of 1613, after relating the differences and brawls between the citizens of St. Thome, adds: "For this reason I wish to appoint a *hidalgo* of authority as captain of that city, and at the head of a garrison able to wage war" [3]. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, when writing these words, had no doubt in mind the recent war with Venkata. At the end of the same year he again urged his sovereign to nominate a respectable *hidalgo* for that task, "because, owing to the want of such a respectable person there, many riots take place and the citizens are divided and fighting among themselves; and specially (he is necessary) to be there ready to check the Dutch if they intend to settle again on that coast" [4]. The Bishop himself also wrote to the Viceroy requesting the appointment of a person

1. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronomo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

2. Ibid.

3. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III 1613, Ap. B, No. XVII.

4. From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XV.

for that post [1]. To put an end to such troubles, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo wrote to the King on December 31st, 1614, that perhaps he would himself proceed to St. Thome [2]. But his project was not carried out.

In the meantime, he wished to appoint Dom Bernardo de Noronha, Captain of St. Thome; for he wrote to the King to this effect on December 26th, 1613. On the matter being proposed to his councillors, Dom Bernardo was elected and "thus I declared to him", says Dom Jeronymo, "that I would give him as much (money) as I could take from the State, with the same regulations as the Captain of Ormuz has, and the authority over that city and the whole of that coast, which is ordinarily given to the Captain-Generals of the fleet". But in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Viceroy, of the Archbishop and of other nobles such as Dom Luiz da Gama, Dom Bernardo de Noronha refused the appointment [3]. The Viceroy, however, still hoped to send Dom Bernardo to St. Thome; but at the end of the following year he received two letters from his sovereign, in which Philip III disapproved of such an appointment. "Hence" says the Viceroy, "I did not think of it any more" [4]. Nothing further touching this matter is found during the life of Venkata II.

15. The fear of the Portuguese that the Dutch, after their expulsion from Devanapatnam, would renew their attempt to establish a factory on the eastern coast, was not groundless. In 1605-6, one of their ships went to Pulicat, and after that the

1. From the same to the same, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVIII.

2. Ibid.

3. From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ibid., No. XV.

4. From the same to the same, as in note 1 of page 450. Dom Bernardo de Noronha was finally appointed Captain General of Malabar in the following year, according to a letter of the Viceroy to the King, dated December 18th, 1615. *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do, Governo*, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 191*). He seems to have died shortly after, according to another letter of the Viceroy (Ibid., fol. 254).

place was selected by them for their future settlement. "A Dutch ship," says Fr. Coutinho in a letter of 1606, "went there (Pulicat) twice; and they (the natives of the place) wanted to receive them and were inviting them to land, with the purpose of introducing them to the King; but they (the Dutch) suspected that we would object (to their landing) here; and we have obtained *olas* from the black King (Venkata), in Velur (Vellore), in which they are absolutely forbidden to allow them (the Dutch) to land in any case" [1].

The place selected by the Dutch traders in the Chingleput District, 25 miles North of Madras, was admirably suited to their commercial purposes [2]. Being situated on the southern extremity of an island which separates the sea from the Pulicat Lake, it had been a trading port before the Dutch knew the route to India and the eastern seas. Ludovico de Barthema, who travelled through India from 1505 to 1507, describes Paleachate as a "place of immence trade" [3], which, it seems, was conducted by the natives mainly with the Straits Settlements [4]. The Portuguese had been at Pulicat several times after their first settlement in India [5]. Pulicat was to become the chief settlement of the Dutch East India Company on the coast of Coromandel, and a continual thorn in the side of the Portuguese, who in the possession of that spot by the Dutch foresaw the ruin of their own trade.

The shrewd traders of the Netherlands were aware that their main enemies at the court of Venkata were the Jesuits. So when they heard shortly after that the Jesuits had left that place for good (as will be narrated in the following chapter) they took this opportunity to press their demands on the King; who

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIIi.

2. In a letter of Jacques l'Hermite to the Chambers of XVII dated Bantam, November 10th, 1610, we read the following, words: "For the present, these places (Devanapatnam and Pulicat) remain in good hands and will be in the future the most important of the shore, especially Paleacata." De Jongue, *De Opkomst*, III. p. 541.

3. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 133.

4. Burgess, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 193.

5. Correa, IV, p. 324.

being now old and weak and shorn of Jesuit support, finally consented. According to a letter of Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, of 1613, this concession to the Dutch would never have been made, had the Jesuits been then at Venkata's court [1]. This event took place at the end of 1606. But the agreement was not signed until the month of April of the following year. This document, translated from the Dutch, runs as follows:

"Agreement made by the Captain Arent Maertsz, in the name and by the power of the Most Honourable States-General and of His Excellency the Prince Mauritius de Nassau on one side; and the celebrated high-born King Vinkata Pati Raya Alou King of the country Carnatica, Sinwasena, Pati and other districts on the other side, and that for ever, on the 24th of April of the year 1610.

"First, His Princelike Excellency will build for his subjects at Palleacatten a place, a stone house, to keep all kinds of war ammunitions, powder, lead, bullets, anchors, ropes, sais and all kinds of other merchandise to save it from fire, robbers and all kinds of accidents.

"Furthermore, we Dutchmen and men from Zeeland and those who traffic here in the name of the General Company shall be obliged to pay two in every hundred of goods and merchandise which shall be brought on land or taken away from there; it being well understood that what has been paid once has not to be paid a second time; moreover, rice and other necessities for the house have not to be paid for.

"The King may not allow the Portuguese to live and to trade in Paleacatte, but on the contrary has to prevent it.

"No one on either side will be allowed to introduce any question and argument or disputation about religion.

"If any one, on account of some mischief, is induced to run to the King or into the country, the King will be obliged to hand him over to our nation.

"Moreover, all persons (as) merchants can traffic with us,

1. From the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

sell or buy goods and merchandise, so that no one can prevent it.

"All painters and weavers who should make some agreement with our nation and make or paint cloth or sell linen here, will receive the payment according to the agreement. Moreover, the King will not be able to allow any European nation to trade here, other than those who have the permission of His Princelike Excellency.

"On our side, we on behalf of this General Company promise to the King that whatsoever goods, guns, war-ammunition or other such things of our countries he desires we shall be obliged to bring here on the first occasion; the King will pay for these things the price they cost in our countries

"When we stop with our ships in the harbour of Palleacatta, we shall not be allowed to do any harm or to arrest any boat.

"All the boats that sail from here to other places with a passport of our captain will not receive harm from our nation.

"All these points of the contract I, Vinkata Pati Raya Alou, King over these countries of Carnatica, Sinvakena, Pati and more principaulities, promise to keep them now and for ever, and I swear it by my *God Peramal* (Perumal).

"I, contractor of the General East Indian Company, promise not to break the same, otherwise let God interfere.

"Under this there was printed in black the seal of the King, and near it written: That is the seal of the King, printed by His Majesty himself, for greater security; the King has moreover printed his hand on a piece of linen, which they call the hand of Sandal, and signed. "Arent Maertss (*sic*)." [1]

Fortune was proving adverse to the Portuguese. Some

1. De Jongue, *De Opkomst*, III, p. 348-9. This was the *caul* referred to by Peter Williamson Floris, when, one year later, he passed through Pulicat: "John Van Wersicke the Dutch President on the coast of Choromandel, showed us a *caul* from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati, Raja, wherein was granted that, it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent". Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 320.

years after, in 1630, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to his sovereign the following words, suggested most likely by this concession of Venkata to the Dutch: "From the time that our European enemies began to come to India, it seems that all the Indian Kings have broken their faith and allegiance which was due to this Government" [1].

16. The lucky adventurers started without any delay to build their factory at Pulicat. When two years later the English Captain Hippon sailed up the eastern Coast of India, looking for a place to establish a factory as well, the Dutch were firmly settled at Pulicat. It is worth while to quote Hippon's words to the East India Company. His ship had met a Portuguese boat of St. Thome with two Portuguese merchants from that town, who informed the Englishmen "that the Dutch had settled a factory in Pellacata (Pulicat), whereupon", continues the English account, "we resolved to make for that place, to see if anything might be done at the place aforesaid for the profit of the Company although neither of us had ever been at this place. In the evening, passing by St. Thome we did see 13 on 14 *aseletows*, or small barques, riding in the road; about some two leagues (further) we came unto an anchor because we would be sure not to pass by Pellacata. The next morning we setting sail, and in the afternoon we came into the road of Pellacata, and there then came 2 boats aboard, the one sent from the Hollanders with a Dutchman therein, from whom we did learn some particulars concerning the country there about, the other boat was sent from the Shabunder to bid us welcome, and then we gave them to understand that we were English and not Dutch. And for the first we desired to have a *cowl* of the Shabunder to send persons aland, for to make a contract with him, and to have further conference together, all which they promised us we should have, and so they departed from the ship. The next day in the morning being the 10th ditto so came again aboard us the people of Shabunder, bringing with them a cowl, according as we desired, whereupon we resolved to send our skiff aland, with Mr. Peter Floris and Mr. Robt. Brown for to speak with the Shabunder, and to learn

1. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

out what might be done there for the Company's behoof, and then on our first entrance, we were in present danger, and were not able, by any means, to avoid it, for being in the breach of the bar our skiff was turned upside down, and we (by the great mercy of God) were all preserved so that nothing was lost save only of some particular as some apparel and rapiers and such like.....and so having had this misfortune we came aland, where the Shabunder attended our coming upon the strand, who was very sorrowful for our mischance, showing unto us all the friendship that he could. And so we embarked and went up the river towards the town where he had provided us of a house, which was but a poor one, but yet it was so good as that place did afford. In the evening we sent a boat aboard with news of all that was passed by us, and withal that Mr. Lucas Antheunis and Thomas Essington should come aland for to consider together what was best to be done in this business and further we found that the Hollanders did bear a hard hand against us, for to hinder us from trading in this place. The day following after that Mr. Lucas Atheunis and Thomas Essington were come aland, then we went unto the Shabunder for to speak with him and when we were set then came thither Jan Van Wesick (John Van Wersick), who is President of the Dutch Company upon the coast of Coromandel, and after some compliments used by both sides, he showed us a cowl of the king, wherein, under other articles there was one which made mention that he did forbid all nations which should come out of Europe without (permission) of the Dutch Company of East India [1] (unfortunately there are here some gaps which make the account unintelligible); whereupon we fell into some hard words one with the other. At last the Shabunder came between us and gave both parties contentment with words and referred us until the coming of Conda Ma who is governess of this place [2]. And this Conda Maa was gone into the country, and would

1. Cf. No. 15 and note 1 of p. 454.

2. Floris says: "We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of England and would therefore doe what we could. Hence (the Dutch President) arose high words, which the Shabunde calmed, telling of the Governesse her coming thither within three days". Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 330.

return again within 3 or 4 days, and in the meantime we must have patience. The 15th ditto the aforesaid governess came into the town and also that Mr. Brown was fallen very sick again, so that we have expressly sent for Captain Hippon, that he should come aland, for to have his opinion upon all occasions that might happen, that nothing might be overslipped which might redound unto the benefit of the Company. After that the governess was come into the town we had prepared a very good present for to have presented her withal; then she refused to give us audience, and sent us word that she had nothing to say unto us, also that this place was given unto the Hollanders by the mere gift of the King, and if we would go unto the King, to desire some other place, she was thereunto very well contented. Which message made us much amazed, yet notwithstanding we did use our best endeavours to come to have speech with her, but could not be effected, whereupon we fell into counsel with ourselves whether it was best to go unto the King, who was but 50 leagues from thence and to see what with him might be procured in these affairs; and after that we had well debated the matter between us, and considering that we had not people sufficient to settle a Factory, and having not time enough, fearing lest we should lose our monsoon, and that we should be at great charges in going to visit the King, so that we have resolved to depart from hence,.....(here again there are several words torn away). If the Company are resolved to enlarge their trade, we cannot find that this place will be so available that it will be worth any extraordinary charges seeing that at Masulpatam (Masulipatam) and at Pettapoly (Petapoli) will be sufficient to bring us more cloths that your Worships shall possibly find vent for, and so far that your Worships will be desirous to have this place or any other place near about it, then it will be needful that your Worship should procure letters from his Majesty, and with a fair present unto the King of Narsinga, Vencapati Rajah (Venkatapati Raya), and then to see if you can procure any sea town for a place of residence, which will not be done without great trouble and extraordinary charges, your Worships may do herein as you shall think good. We do not think good with the ship called the Globe to proceed further

here in considering that Muselpatam and Pettapoly is more than sufficient for us to finish our pretended voyage, the which serve your Worships for advice" [1]. It is very interesting to see the difficulties the British merchants met with on their first attempt to establish factories in a country which was subdued by them after two centuries.

17. Needless to say, the idea of a settlement at Pulicat was not abandoned by the enterprising British traders. They returned to the newly established factory at Masulipatam, and shortly after they were glad to receive a quite unexpected visit. Venkata II had heard of the voyage of the English merchants to Pulicat, and had therefore sent an envoy to them at Masulipatam, with proposals for opening trade with them [2]. Floris's account gives many details about this Embassy of King Venkata to the English traders:—"I returned to Masulipatam", says he, "where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte, Jaga' Raja Governour thereabout and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja (Kondaja) secretarie of the Great King Wencatadraia [3], wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither, they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte, with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there could beleeve but little: yet at last we agreed that one of them should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the letters to the aforesaid persons, as also to the king; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Country, then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

1. From Captain Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage to the E.I.C., August, 1611 (?), *Letters received by the E.I.C.*, I, p. 133-5.

2. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p. 6.

3. Floris says that there were three persons in this Embassy and then speaks of two only. The third perhaps was one Tima (Tirumala) Raja mentioned with the other two a little later.

"The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali, from the great king of Narsinga of Velur, bringing me a Caul with his *Abestiam* (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others. The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Country, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges. He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearely revenue, with promise to doe more at my coming thither. The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force; the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the king with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers. I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further. My man Wengali had beene in person before the King, and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe"[1]. Floris seems to have been inclined to proceed to Venkata's court. But when on the 25th of October he heard of the King's death, he was somewhat disheartened on account of the expected troubles. "I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur," says he, "in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit opportunity: yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice"[2].

Independently of this attempt another English expedition called at Pulicat in the beginning of 1614, to start trading with the natives there. Two boats, '*The Globe*' and '*James*', went there, but for the second time met with an unwilling reception: "Arriving at the road of Pollicat (Pulicat)", says the commander John Gourney to the East India Company, "we had soon after two several troops of messengers from the Shabunder to welcome us, and to show us that if we came to trade we should not

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 336-7.
2. Ibid., p. 341.

want any favours needful and that his desire was to seen us ashore; this agreeing with our own desire, I went ashore taking Thomas Brokedon with me and being entered into the town understood that the Shabunder was gone forth to the town. So we turning directly towards a large castle the Dutch have there built were at our coming into it entertained with kind shows by Warner Van Berghen, alias Captain Drinkwater, Captain there and Rector of all the factories upon that coast, being then accompanied with Captain Samuel King, English born, and there we also found with them sundry of the principals of the town prepared to declare unto us (as they presently did) that their king had given by his cowl or firman the privilege of the whole trade of that town to the Hollanders, without whose leave we English nor other strangers might intermeddle, and the said Van Berghen added that it was not in his power to give leave. These speeches having heard and knowing that Mr. Floris had been in the like manner put off, conceive that the King of Velour (Vellore, i.e. Venkata II) must be dealt withal with the King's Majesty's letters, which no doubt at any time will prevail. But the king being within the land at war, few factors of us and our two principal ports to be furnished being Musulpatam (Masulipatam) and Pettapoly (Petapoli), we having that night following received very kind entertainment of the Dutch, we prepared in the morning to embark, at which time the parties aforesaid returned to parley again and, making the same conclusion as before, they added that we ought to pay anchorage. Our answer was that we knew it to be their hearty desire that we should stay and trade with them, if we could have sufferance from the Hollander, but now we could neither accept of liberty nor stay to trade, neither would we give them anchorage. Whereat without more ado they gave us betel to chew, as their manner of courtesy is, and bade us farewell, desiring us to be good to Gentiles, if we met them at sea"[1]. We do not know of other attempts of the first English traders to establish a commercial settlement at Pulicat. At this time the Portuguese had already started their campaign against the Dutch settlement.

1. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patani, July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E.I.C.*, II, p. 83-4.

18. The most intrepid adventurer who carried into execution the capture of Pulicat from the Dutch was the Bishop of Sao Thome de Meliapor, Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro. His Majesty the King of Spain addressed the Viceroy regarding the intrepid Bishop's adventure in the following terms: "They wrote to me about the efforts of the Bishop of Meliapore to destroy the factory of the Dutch at Paleacate" [1]. The erection of a fort in the neighbourhood of Pulicat whence the Portuguese could batter the walls of the Dutch fortification was a premeditated plan of the Bishop, which had already been proposed to the Viceroy [2]. We have not come across any further details about this scheme. The fact is that the Dutch factory was actually captured by the Portuguese. We are made aware of this by the King of Spain in a letter dated January 31st, 1614. The King himself was informed of it by the Viceroy in a previous mail [3]. Considering the length of time occupied in a journey from India to the metropolis in those days of difficult navigation, we can place this event in the beginning of 1613, or perhaps at the end of 1612. The King's message records the valiant deeds done by the Captain and inhabitants of St. Thome [4]; but to the Bishop of Mylapore was supposed to be the hero of the day on account of his intrepidity and boldness. In a letter from the Spanish monarch dated 1614, mention is made of the Bishop of Meliapor "in capturing the fort the Dutch had at Paleacate" [5]. In another letter of 1615, the King of Spain mentions again the capture of the Dutch fortress at Pulicat by this Prelate [6]. He commanded a force of 130 Portuguese who took the fort by surprise setting on fire the buildings of the Dutch traders. The latter defended their properties very

1. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1613, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 314.

2. Ibid.

3. From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, o. c., III, p. 31.

4. Ibid.

5. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI.

6. From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o. c., III, p. 302.

valiantly, till many of them were slain by the invaders. The booty captured by the Portuguese seems to have been considerable [1].

With the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat the fortress was razed to the ground [2]. The Portuguese however were not destined to enjoy their success for long. For in the beginning of 1614 Pulicat had again fallen into the hands of the Dutch. In his letter dated February 6th, 1615, the King of Spain tells us that after the Dutch fortress was levelled to the ground, two Dutch ships weighed anchor at Pulicat harbour to negotiate with King Venkata to re-establish themselves there, and for this purpose had made munificent gifts to the monarch. Through the influence of the latter's brother-in-law, who openly favoured them, they obtained permission from the monarch to build a new fortress. They lost no time. They set about work at once. The new fortress was erected on a different spot which commanded greater facility for defence than the former. "It was further fortified", says Philip III, "by the erection of several bastions round the walls and the picketing of artillery and soldiers" [3]. This was the fort which was called later on Castel Geldria" [4].

This dealt a death blow to Portuguese commercial enterprise. Dutch commerce got the ascendancy again; it flourished now just as it did prior to the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat. The Dutch made a roaring trade with the famous Pulicat cloth and amassed enormous profits [5]. This excited the jealousy of the Spanish sovereign who ordered his Viceroy to try the re-capture of Pulicat, a thing which at this time appeared easy and would not brook delay—for delay meant that the Portuguese would have to encounter a formidable enemy after the lapse of even a few years. "By all means", says the King, "cause this second fortress built by the Dutch at Paleacate to be

1. *Ragvagli d' Alcvne Missioni*, p. 151.

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615, Ibid., p. 190.

3. Ibid., p. 189.

4. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeromymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o. c., p. 190.

destroyed, for attaining which you may accept the overtures made by Bishop Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro" [1]. The Bishop's desire was none other than to sieze again the Dutch factory as he had done previously. All he needed to give effect to his plan was some money and a number of soldiers, "Let this be done as soon as possible", adds the King. "Do not allow the Dutch to fortify it (the fortress) more, for if they do so, their expulsion from there will be extremely difficult" [2]. In fact the Bishop himself had also urged the Viceroy to send a governor to St. Thome who could take charge, among other things, of the capture of "the fortress the Dutch have made at Paleacate" [3]. The Viceroy's purpose was obvious. One of the reasons why he had wished to send Dom Bernardo de Noronha as captain of St. Thome was that "he might be able to attack Paleacate" [4]. The re-capture of Pulicat was beyond doubt the fervent wish of Dom. Jeronymo d'Azevedo. In one of his letters he says: "I trust in God that the fortress of Paleacate will be soon captured by the fleet I have decided to send there" [5].

The re-capture of Pulicat was never effected. Nothing was heard of any second attempt being made by the warrior-like Bishop. To all intents the cause of this apparent stagnation was most likely due to the death of Venkata II. During the disturbances that followed this event, the Portuguese at St. Thome had to prepare themselves for further eventualities, the recounting of which shall be the scope of the second volume. When things had settled, circumstances had changed; and the Portuguese realised that to attempt alone the re-capture of Pulicat would be folly. Hence they could not carry out their adventurous plan: to do so they had first to gain the Vijayanagara Emperor to their cause.

1. Ibid.

1. From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1616, Ibid., p. 302.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Phllip III, Goa, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVIII.

3. From the same to the same, Goa December 26th, 1613, Ibid., No. XV.

4. From the same to the same, 1613, Ibid., No. XII. See Ap. B, No. XVII.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY—1. First idea of establishing a mission at Chandragiri. Frs. de Sa and Ricio proceed to the Court.—2. Their relations with Venkata and his father-in-law.—3. Frs. Veiga and Ricio settle at Chandragiri. Their house.—4. The income given them by the Emperor, and its withdrawal in 1603.—5. Venkata's good-will towards the Fathers. His letter to Fr. Pimenta.—6. Fr. Veiga leaves the court. New missionaries. Their interviews with Venkata.—7. Fr. Laerzio, Provincial of the Province of Malabar, pays a visit to Venkata at Vellore. His impressions.—8. Venkata's opposition to the Jesuits. They leave the court. Their further settlement at Vellore.—9. The Jesuits build a church next to Venkata's palace. The King defends them against Tatacharya.—10. Sundry events from 1608 to 1611.—11. Withdrawal of the Jesuits from Venkata's court. The end of the mission.—12. Practical fruits of the Jesuit mission at Chandragiri and Vellore.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit Letters.—2. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro.

WE have hitherto made frequent mention of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, while narrating events of which they had been eye-witnesses and in which they had at times even actively participated. We shall now collect all the available information about their influence at Venkata's court, and the way they acquired it; it will help us to appreciate the character of this monarch, and the whole history of the South of India.

In 1597, Fr. Nicolas Pimenta, as Visitor on behalf of the General of the Society of Jesus, visited all the Jesuit houses and missions in the South of India. While he was at St. Thome, he recommended the Fathers of that College to try all possible means to establish a mission at the capital of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, then at Chandragiri. It was suggested by Fr. Pimenta that a Father should go there to present his respect to the sovereign, from whom he might

obtain sanction to establish a house in his capital. All the Fathers approved of the idea. Accordingly "I appointed Fr. Simon (de) Sa, Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas," says Fr. Pimenta himself, "to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could" [1]. Fr. de Sa at once got in touch with a Christian merchant, a native of Chandragiri, who was then living at St. Thome; this person wrote about the matter to one of his relations, a servent of Oba Raya, the Emperor's father-in-law, to whom he praised the wisdom and holiness of the Jesuits of St. Thome so highly that Oba Raya became anxious to make their acquaintance. Accordingly the latter wrote to the Fathers, inviting them to proceed to Chativerum (Kanchivaram), where he used to reside in a fortress of some importance [2]. Fr. de Sa replied that he would go after the monsoon was over. In the meantime Oba Raya, having been called to Chandragiri by the Emperor invited the Rector of St. Thome to proceed to that court, where he expected to be for a long period. Accordingly on October 10th, 1598, Fr. de Sa together with Fr. Francesco Ricio left St. Thome for the capital of the Empire. A nephew of Oba Raya, a boy aged 13, came forward to meet and salute the Fathers with a considerable retinue of elephants and horses. When a league away from Chandragiri they sent a message to Oba Raya, who next morning despatched a general accompanied by many nobles and soldiers riding either elephants or horses to receive and usher them into the city. A great reception was given them in Oba Raya's palace; they handed over their presents to that chief, who offered them in their first interview any town they desired to stay in and build a church; moreover, he promised to defray the expenses of the missionaries who stayed in the town. He also presented them with rich silk cloths and inquired eagerly about the King of Portugal and his Viceroy in India; and after some days he personally introduced the Fathers into the presence of Venkata II.

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, December, 1597, Purchas, X, p. 210; Du Jarric, I, p. 638 and 654. Cf. Ap. C, No. I.

2. Fr. Ricio says that 'Hoburaja wrote two *ollas* to the Fathers'. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1610, Ap. C, No. I.

2. On the day appointed they were kindly received by the Emperor. "The sovereign", says du Jarric, "was sitting in a narrow vestibule, built for himself alone, that was to be reached by several stairs. He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow. Next to the King, just at the edge of the mat, the crown prince was also seated; he was a young man of white complexion and handsome face. On the other side of the King, opposite the Prince, Obo (Oba Raya) and his brother were seated too. The King was dressed in yellow...After the usual salutations the Fathers stood before him, as the other nobles did, excepting those mentioned; they were so near the throne that some times they touched the border of the King's dress. 'The Monarch said that he had enjoyed our coming (here du Jarric probably quotes a letter of de Sa) as much as the world enjoys the rising of the sun; hence he will send us away full of honours and gifts; he knew of us from the things related by Obo (Oba Raya)'. They, having thanked him, offered him some presents which were kindly accepted: there was among these presents a golden glass heart-shaped jewel brought over from Portugal; the King asked what it was for; was it perhaps something eatable. They answered that it was nothing else but a symbol of the human heart made with silver and gold, which they offered him as a sign of their sincere love, their loyalty and thankfulness towards His Majesty. Then he thanked them in his mother tongue saying:—

"*Maha Santo Seam*," that is, I am extremely glad.

"Then he also gave some gifts to the Fathers: four pieces of silk cloth to Fr. Rector and two to Fr. Francis Ricio." After this a long talk ensued in which Venkata asked about the life they led; and after having heard their account, addressing his nobles he said:—

"They are like our *sannyasis*; but these moreover are Gurupi (*i. e.* learned Priests)".

The audience had been long enough; at the end, after a detailed explanation of the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, that washed away the sins from our soul very much better than the Brahmanical ablutions, which clean only the body but not the soul, Venkata asked the Brahmans, who were present:—

"What do you think of it?"

And they, struck with admiration, exclaimed:

"*Suami, Suami*" (Lord, Lord).

Finally Oba Raya told the Fathers that the King had determined to give them two villages, for their expenses and for the construction of the temple; and then a golden palankin, which is only permitted to the grandees and gurupis. Finally he allowed them to build as many temples as they wished throughout his dominions. Before their departure the King granted another audience to them; in which, at his request, they declared many of the tenets of the Christian faith, and were granted permission to build a church in Chandragiri itself. After this they returned to St. Thome [1]. It was at this time that Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits began. [2].

3, On reaching St. Thome, Fr. de Sa wrote to Fr. Pimenta, then at Goa, about the success of the expedition, and demanded more priests for opening the new mission. Many Fathers and Brothers offered themselves to the Visitor who was desirous of commencing that holy enterprise. Pimenta however selected, from amongst those who were either in Goa or in St. Thome, six Fathers, namely Manoel de Veiga who was to be the Superior, Gaspar Estevao, Francesco Ricio, Joao da Costa, Petro Euticio and Belchior Coutinho [3]. No mention is found in further documents of three of the above mentioned Fathers, *viz.* Estevao, Costa and Euticio; perhaps they never reached St. Thome.

The first to arrive at this town was Fr. Veiga who, accompanied by Fr. Ricio, left for Chandragiri on August 12th, 1599, reaching the capital four days later. "Thus", says Fr. Ricio, "we went to Oburaja (Oba Raya), who after having paid us the highest respects, introduced us to the King. He welcomed our arrival. Oburaja, on behalf of the King, gave us a very good place for building a little church and house; we also constructed a wall around; we put up in the church two images:

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 654-77; Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 61. Cf. Ap. C, No. I.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 677-8.

one of our Saviour and one of our Lady. Very many heathens go continuously to this church, and they make bows, and prostrate themselves before the images, and ask for some temporal rewards; many have already come to thank (God) for those they have received. We preach to them about the mysteries of our faith, and convince them of their error; since the things they believe in are nothing else but evident lies and sins; nobody knows what to answer and all remain in great confusion, though reverencing the tenets of our faith. We have often declared the tenets of our faith to the King himself, showing him several pictures he liked very much to see; and he, though possessing such a clear intellect, does the same", *viz.* does not know what to answer [1]. Another letter of Ricio's states that they were allowed by the King "to build a Church, erect Crosses, and convert men; insomuch that fifty families were to give place and depart from the ground thereto assigned us" [2]. Fr. Coutinho, who arrived at Chandragiri some months after, describes their house and compound as follows: "Our little house has large premises exposed to a healthy breeze; they are good enough for building up a church and residence, and far from the crowded streets of the town. In the meantime, we have constructed a small church on the spot, large enough for the present, until we shall have money enough for building a larger one" [3].

4. The income of the villages which Venkata had promised to the Jesuits at his court, was, according to a Jesuit letter of 1602, "never settled, because of the chief governor and some grandees of that court, who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them. Hence the King," continues the MS., "gave them yearly a thousand *pagodas* out of the tribute paid by one of the Naiques (Nayaks) who are his subjects,

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-90. Du Jarric, I, p. 689, says that the spot where the Fathers built the church was given them by the Queen, daughter of Oba Raya.

2. Purchas, X, p. 221.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

until some lands should be vacant, from which the maintenance of the Fathers could be taken without objection. For this purpose he issued the necessary *ollas*; and one of our Fathers went to Cangeuaram (Kanchivaram) to see the *Polle* (an officer of the imperial treasury), through whom such a rent had to be received. He was entertained and honoured by this *Polle*, who gave him as great proofs of his love as any of those princes who are friends of the Society would have done in Europe. When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salvoes to cheer him. He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent in the following January, that is one fourth of the whole; and, as a matter of fact, he has already given us five hundred pardaos" [1].

In connection with this story of their revenue the Jesuit sources narrate a case not known hitherto, and one which undoubtedly reflects on the integrity of the nobles of Venkata's court. "The case was striking in this", says Guerreiro, "that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church. It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure; he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity. And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand *pagodas*, he denied the charge and swore on his parents he had never taken the ring. By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas*; so he is now imprisoned. The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend of the Fathers" [2].

Thus the Fathers enjoyed from that time an annual income of one thousand gold pieces [3]. This constituted the main source of the revenue of the College at St. Thome, and on it

1. *Litterae Annuae* of Eastern India, 1601, Ap. C, No. VI.

2. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137.

3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

the Chandragiri mission depended[1]. The rest of the College revenue was paid by the *adigar* of Mylapore, who was himself a very good friend of the Jesuits: he gave them annually three hundred gold pieces out of the tribute the inhabitants of St. Thome paid to the Nayak of Tanjore[2]. But from the year 1603 this yearly income, so kindly made over to the Fathers by order of Venkata, ceased, as we gather from a letter of Fr. M. Roiz written in 1606[3], and from another of Fr. A. Rubino, of 1609[4]. The reason of this change may be gathered from a letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo; who, writing to Philip III said that the lands that had yielded the income had been destroyed[5]. And it seems that no other source of revenue was assigned by Venkata for the maintenance of the Fathers in the following years.

5. We learn from a Jesuit letter of 1600 that "in the mission of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) there are three priests and one Lay Brother"[6]. These four Jesuits were Frs. Veiga and Ricio, who had arrived at Chandragiri in the previous year, and Fr. Belchior Coutinho and the English Lay Brother, Alexander Frey, a painter, who reached the court in 1600. Another letter says that the three Fathers and Bro. Alexander, did excellent pioneer work, " a great deal for the improvement of the Bisnagara (Vijayanagara) mission. The King", adds the letter, " is very well disposed towards them" [7].

This good will of Venkata towards the Fathers is recorded in

1. From Fr. M. de Veiga to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, December 10th, 1601, Ap. C, No. III.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XXII.

3. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No XII.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ibid., No. XXVII.

5. From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No, XI.

6. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap. C, No. II.

7. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, December 21st, 1602, Ibid., No. V.

all the letters in our possession, dated the same year. "The King is kind to the priests", we read in one, "and granted them many favours" [1]. "He received us with special kindness and love", says another [2]. Venkata's regard for the Fathers grew when he learned from the Mughal ambassador in what high esteem they were held by Akbar. [3]. On one occasion, Coutinho relates, "as the King was taking a walk in this neighbourhood a few days ago, he asked his attendants where our house was. When we knew that the King was coming, we proceeded to the door to receive him respectfully. The attendants of the King were exclaiming:—

"*Pareco Parangolu*", that is, let His Highness see the Portuguese Priests.

"He (the King) talked to us affably and cheerfully" [4].

Another testimony of his esteem for the Fathers was the letter he wrote to Fr. Pimenta that year. Purchas published only the first part of it [5]. But we were fortunate enough to unearth its original kept in the Jesuit Archives. It runs as follows :—

"The King of kings, the great Lord, the Knight of knights, Vencapati (*sic*), King after God, sends the following letter to Fr. Nicolao Pimenta who is at Goa. I was filled with joy on receipt of your letter during a personal interview with Fr. Manoel de Veiga, Superior of the Fathers who reside here. I gave them permission to erect a church and house in my own town of Chandegri. I have allotted the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of St. Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers, and I shall confer not only on these but also on their successors extraordinary privileges and endowments. Moreover I have allowed them complete freedom to preach the

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ibid., No. II.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap. C, No. II. Cf. Ibid., No. V.

4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. C, No. V.

5. Purchas, X, p. 281.

law of God, so that anyone who wishes may become a Christian, without being deprived of his previous position. My old love for the Portuguese is by now well known in Goa. The fathers themselves will write to you about the honours they have received from my hands. I have resolved to send the Viceroy a ring and some other presents, which I shall charge my interpreter Condoquor to deliver. I wish Your Paternity to inform the Viceroy of this, so that our old friendly relations may be renewed. Fr. Manoel de Veiga will inform you about the new occurrences. I have myself nothing else to say." [1].

6. The year 1600 witnessed a great loss to the recently founded mission of Chandragiri. Fr. Manoel de Veiga, who is justly called its founder [2], was called to St. Thome and appointed Visitor of the Jesuit houses of the South [3], with a view to separating them from the Province of Goa. We find him accordingly in 1601 visiting the Jesuit stations on the Fishery Coast [4], and after a while, in the month of December, at Cochin [5]. It seems that Fr. Veiga's opinion was not favourable to the separation of the Vice-Province of Malabar [6]. Nevertheless, without his concurrence, it was effected shortly after; and Fr. Veiga was then appointed Provincial of the Province of Goa [7].

After his departure three Jesuits remained at Chandragiri: Fr. B. Coutinho, who was appointed Superior, Fr. F. Ricio and the Lay Brother Alexander Frey [8]. Fr. Ricio, writing in the year 1603, gives the following information regarding their relations with Venkata: " When we converse with him he not only shows us marks of great friendship, but also lends a very willing ear

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap. C, No. V.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1601, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, January, 1602, Ap. C. No. IV.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

4. Guerrero (*sic*) *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 108.

5. See Ap. C, No. III.

6. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

7. Ibid.

8. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

to the exposition of our doctrine, especially when the topic under discussion is Jesus Our Saviour, and the Blessed Virgin. And after he has heard us, he approves of, and repeats our sayings to others. The same willingness is shown to us by very many others, distinguished both by birth and learning. On hearing our exposition they are filled with joy, and acknowledge that there is only one faith and one God (a point we lay stress on in all our arguments.) But though in every doctrine which we propound they show great joy, their happiness when we enumerate and explain the ten commandments of the divine law is so great, that it is easier for one to imagine it than for me to describe it to you in a letter. They confess that this law is divine and very sound, and that theirs is teeming with error; and for this very reason they very often come to us and attend our church and willingly hear the divine precepts and all that pertains to the salvation of our souls with great reverence and devotion. And not only those who dwell in this imperial city flock to our church, but also a large number from many different towns of this kingdom; and on reaching it they prostrate themselves on the bare floor, and with sincerest humility beg assistance from God in their needs" [1].

7. Such was the life of the Jesuits at the court of Venkata II while he ruled at Chandragiri. After his conquest of Vellore in the beginning of 1604, and during his short stay at that place, Fr. Ricio went there to pay him his respects [2]; and shortly after Fr. Alberto Laerzio, the Superior of the Vice-Province of Malabar, who had visited him at Chandragiri in the preceding year, [3] also went to Vellore to do homage to him. Venkata, on hearing of his coming, gave orders to prepare and adorn a house next to the palace for him and his companion. "As soon as they arrived", says a Jesuit letter, "several nobles paid a visit to them, and congratulated them on their arrival

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

3. From Fr. A. Laersio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. C, No. IX.

on behalf of the king. Then Ramana, the son of the King's sister, a very good friend of ours, also sent to the Fathers some nobles of his household, through whom he presented to the Fathers some good dishes of his own table, as he had previously done to Fathers Nicolao Levanto and Francesco Ricio. Father Provincial answered that he and his companions would like to cook their food themselves at home; then the prince sent them a large number of wethers and hens, besides butter, rice, and other uncooked eatables; moreover, a while after, he again sent them a wild boar brought by his brother from a hunting expedition; finally he came himself, and gave the Fathers many proofs of his sincere friendship and esteem".

"On the same day", continues the same letter, "the King sent a message to Fr. Provincial, to know when he would like to visit him. The Father replied he was expecting an elephant he had left resting a little at Kanchivaram. When the beast reached Vellore the Provincial sent word to the sovereign. The latter despatched his private secretary, who is also a very good friend of the Fathers, with a large retinue to fetch the Fathers. They reached the entrance of the palace in a coach. The King came down to the entrance-lobby to receive Fr. Provincial, as well as to see the elephant, the hound and the other presents. Then he took the Father to the audience-hall and ordered him to sit down next to the royal throne, the grandees of the kingdom standing round. When the Provincial asked for permission to leave, he did not grant it; for to dismiss him on the first meeting would be offensive to the dignity of both." As a matter of fact, Fr. Laerzio prolonged his stay at Vellore some days and was finally dismissed with great honours and tokens of sincere attachment [1].

Shortly after this visit Venkata wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus, then Fr. Claudio Aquaviva. Two years later, in 1607, Fr. Coutinho points out that the King was awaiting the answer [2]. We suppose it came in due course, but no further

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar. 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 5th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XV.

mention of this letter has been found. In the meantime the nobles of the court and kingdom still showed respect and admiration for the Fathers. "All of them are very good friends of the Fathers", says Laerzio, "very polite and kind...and many request us to build churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance" [1].

In the month of July, 1606, Fr. Francesco Ricio passed away [2]; he was the first missionary to die in the Vijayanagara mission. Fortunately his successor came out in the same year. This was another Italian, Fr. Antonio Rubino. Fr. Ricio himself had, when writing to Fr. General in 1603, asked for Fr. Rubino for this mission [3]. He was a great mathematician and a profound theologian; moreover he was a very good preacher and a virtuous priest [4]. He reached Chandragiri in the beginning of 1606; and from there he wrote to Fr. General of the Society of Jesus in the following year as follows: "Last year I wrote to Your Paternity an account of this mission in the kingdom of Bisnaga, in which I am now by Your Paternity's command with great consolation on my part. I hope in our Lord that I shall end the rest of my life, which will not last very long, in this mission" [5].

8. But shortly after his arrival a great storm burst over the heads of the missionaries. It was then that the conflict between the inhabitants of St. Thome and the soldiers of the *adigar* took place, ending with the partial destruction of Madras and Mylapore, as we have related in one of the preceding chapters [6]. When news of the disaster reached Venkata's

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 8th, 1604, Ap C, No. X.

2. Fr. Ricio's death is announced in a letter of Fr. Coutinho, dated November 4th, 1606, preserved in the Archives of the Society.

3. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

4. From Fr. B. Countinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV.

5. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVII.

6. Cf. Ch. XXI, No. 9.

ears, inflamed with anger he exclaimed among other things that 'he did not want the Fathers in his kingdom any more'[1]. For this reason, the Provincial did not proceed to Venkata's court on his annual visit, and the Fathers were recalled to St. Thomé to see their Superior there; Laerzio ordered them not to go back to Venkata's court till peace had been restored[2].

Towards the close of 1606, as related above, peace was finally made, and in the first days of January, 1607, the missionaries were back at their posts in the mission of Vijayanagara: Fr. Rubino at Chandragiri, and Fr. Coutinho with the Lay Brother, Bartolomeo Fontebona, at the new residence of Vellore[3] where the capital of the Empire had just been transferred. "In the month of January", says Fr. Coutinho, "we came over here, Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona and myself. Among other things that we offered to the King was a pot full of cakes, one out of a dozen pots we had received in the college on the feast of Jesus (January 1st). This pot was a work of fine art, showing a pelican with its young ones around. I told him at the time (when presenting this pot) that the people of St. Thome were like dead because His Highness had been unfavourable to them; but in the course of time, when he had showed from the bottom of his heart his love towards them, they, as his children, had returned to life, as it had happened to that bird, etc. He was very glad to hear this, for they are men who like comparisons". In the same letter, Coutinho relates that Fr. Rubino also went to Vellore to pay a visit to the King. He brought him as a present a nice map of the world with Telugu inscriptions; the principal kingdoms and the four elements and the twelve skies were described there; the King enjoyed very much seeing and reading all these things; he questioned Rubino about some difficult problems of mathematics, and the missionary showed himself tc

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606 Ap. C, No. XII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XV. Cf. Ibid., No. XIII.

be an excellent mathematician [1]. Rubino himself adds that on this occasion he also gave the King a treatise on astronomy, "and the King caused it to be read before him and in the presence of all the learned men of his court. These people were greatly astonished at the difference that lies between our science and theirs" [2].

9. Venkata gave the Jesuits at Vellore a site next to his own palace to build a house and church. "The King", says Coutinho, "gave us a house and church within the first enclosure of the fortress; and I put up the Holy Cross over the gate. It is situated in a beautiful street running from North to South and leaning against the walls of the palace. The Church is visited by many of the King's relations, who are our friends and neighbours; they enjoy our conversations about God" [3]. This proves that, after that temporary storm of hatred against the Portuguese, the love of Venkata for the Jesuits was renewed once more "He (Venkata)" says Fontebona, "shows us as much love as we can desire" [4]. And in another letter he says: "It is surprising to see how he loves us" [5]. Fr. Antonio

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV. When I visited the place in January, 1924, as soon as I entered the fort, I noticed through the green trees a small white cross over the facade of a church towering above all the other edifices. I remembered at once the above quoted passage of Coutinho. Then I realized that the aforesaid church was built next to the walls of the Mahal still standing and in the street running from North to South. The coincidence was amazing. I could not however get more information about that church, as there was no priest then at the parish house. I wrote lately to a Catholic Priest of Vellore, Rev. J. Trideau, and I was informed by him that, according to local tradition, there is no recollection of a Catholic Church inside the fort I realized then that the church I had seen must be the Anglican Church, but nevertheless the spot where it is built seems to be the same as that of the ancient church of the Jesuits at Venkata's court. Cf. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, I, p. 624-9.

4. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVI.

5. From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

Vico, writing from Cochin at about the same time, informs us that "the King of Bisnaga is daily growing fonder of the things of God" [1], while Fontebona says elsewhere that Venkata "likes to talk about our things, and specially about our holy faith" [2].

One of these talks with Venkata about the Christian tenets is related in a letter of Fr. Coutinho: "The other day", he says, "we were talking about the things of God; and His Majesty heard at length the explanation of the ten commandments. When in explaining the first we said that there was only one God and that the others were false gods, idols (Devils), the King did not say anything. The Brahmans, however, asked him what was the use of hearing such things; to which the King replied that it was a very good thing and so worthy of notice. He was also pleased to see the album of holy pictures which the Brother showed him, drawing his attention especially to the ones by Fr. Nadal [3]. He saw them one by one and at the same time inquired minutely about their meaning; in so doing he was very glad to know of these high mysteries. But the King's religious preceptor (*viz.* Tatacharya) wished to convince us of the falsehood of the passion (of Jesus Christ). He was one of those whom St. Paul represents to us as saying that our doctrine was folly; he tried to convince him of the stories of their false gods, who are so unworthy of divinity; but we declared to him how perfect was the love of Jesus Christ, who came to the world for our salvation. The King heard everything in silence, and was by no means angry when at what we said against his idols and temples" [4]. The same letter records that once, when the King was praising the Fathers for 'being

1. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. P. A. Spinelli, Cochin, December 9th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XXI.

2. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

3. For the history of these pictures, see Heras, *La Dinastia Manchu en China*, I, p. 412–4, and *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, p. 136, n. 26.

4 From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

Saniaçes (*sannyasis*), and religious and chaste people', "Tatacharya happened to be present, and being an enemy of the Fathers, replied to the King's remark:—

If they are religious, why do they eat meat?"

"Although they eat meat" the king answered, "they are chaste and have no wives" [1].

10. Venkata's affection for the Fathers continued during the following year, 1608 [2]. This year Fr. Laerzio again paid a visit to the Fathers of both the residences of Vijayanagara: Coutinho and Fontebona were residing at Vellore, where they built a fine crib in the Church for Christmas; while there was Fr. Rubino alone at Chandragiri, 'where he works a great deal for the service of God', says Coutinho [3].

In 1609 we find Fr. Coutinho no longer at Vellore, and Fr. Rubino has taken his place, though also in charge of the Christians of Chandragiri [4]. We suspect that Coutinho was recalled to St. Thomas, as his health had broken down. He died in 1610, and then Rubino was appointed Superior of the mission. Fr. Antonio Diaz was then sent there and the Provincial expected to appoint two additional Fathers for this mission [5]. Fr. Coutinho's death was a great loss to it: he was a man "of great virtue and of excellent intellect", Fr. Ricio wrote in 1601 [6]. He was a bosom friend of Venkata. As a matter of fact after the death of Coutinho the King became colder and colder in his relations with the Fathers. At the end of 1609, Fr. Rubino wrote to Fr. General: "The King is not as good a

1. Ibid.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII; From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1601, Ap. C, No. XXV.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, Ap. C, No, XXVII.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C. No. XXXI.

6. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

friend of ours as he was before. The cause of it are those accursed Brahmans, who are the chief foes of our Holy Faith; the King is more than a slave before them" [1]. Another Jesuit letter of 1600 shows what kind of slavery the King was subjected to: "The King is not allowed to talk to anybody", we read there, "before he has seen the face of two Brahmans" [2].

In the month of June, 1611, we find Rubino in Colombo. He had preached on Fridays in Lent; his preaching pleased everybody and was fruitful. The reason for his going there was that Venkata had requested him to accompany the ambassadors whom he was sending to the Portuguese Governor of Ceylon, and whom he had deputed to sell several elephants to the Portuguese [3].

11. By the end of the same year, 1611, no Jesuit houses were found any more either at Vellore or at Chandragiri. What was the cause of their withdrawal from Venkata's court?

Some years before, a document full of slanders against all the Jesuits of the South, but especially against those who where at Venkata's court, had been presented to Philip III. The accusations may be reduced to the following four heads: 1. The Jesuits residing at Venkata's court have no interest at all in the conversion of infidels, and only preach according to the will of the Brahmans and other Hindu ascetics. 2. All their efforts are reduced to making money and to accumulating enormous amounts of money in order to increase their income; and to attain this purpose they always do whatever the King likes. 3. Bro. Fontebona is busy painting indecent pictures to please the sovereign; and 4. They

1. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXI. This is the last time we hear of Rubino in connection with Vijayanagara. In 1613 he became Rector of the College at St. Thome, as recorded in a letter of 1615, which will be published in Vol. II. Rubino died martyr in Japan on March 17th, 1643.

forged letters of the King of Spain to Venkata and of Venkata to the King of Spain, and bribed the ministers of the former to obtain the royal seal [1]

No doubt, these charges created great resentment in the suspicious character of Philip III. On March 9th, 1610, he wrote about them to his Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora to this effect: "From the note I am sending you herewith, you may see the things which were communicated to me about the conduct of the Jesuits who reside in the Empire of Bisnaga; hence I recommend to you, first, to request from their Superior the immediate withdrawal of these Religious (from that Empire) to any other house of their Order; they may be, if necessary, replaced by others of good conduct, whose efforts must be only devoted to the conversion of the gentiles. Then you will secretly inquire from impartial persons about the accusations as contained in the said note" [2]. No person can defend this strange and imprudent order of the Spanish King. He ought first to have ordered an inquiry, and then to proceeded to the expulsion of the guilty, if any. The Provincial of the Malabar Province, to avoid any suspicion of covetousness on their part, on receiving the Viceroys's order promptly withdrew his subordinates from Venkata's court: "As soon as their Superiors were aware of what Your Majesty wrote about them, they caused them to be removed at once to their own province", wrote Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to his sovereign, in 1613 [3]. No other Fathers were sent there.

1. Memorial against the Jesuits, Ap. C, No. XXXVIII.

1. "Por hum papel que ira com esta vereis o que se diz do procedimento dos religiosos da companhia que residem no reino de Bisnaga, e parecemme remettervolo e encomendarvos, como faco, que trateis com o superior daquella religiao que recolha logo estes religiosos a algua outra casa da sua ordem. e sendo necessario enviar alli outros, o faca, escolhendo para isso pessoas de satisfaccao e que attendam somente a conversao dos gentios d'aquelle reino; e que do mais que contem o dito papel tomeis informacao em todo o segredo por pessoas sem suspeita". From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, March 9th, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 372. Cf. another letter from the same King to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1610, Ibid., II, p. 184.

3. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

This removal of the Jesuits from the court of Vijayanagara caused a great deal of harm to the Portuguese influence in India. According to the Viceroy, the settlement of the Dutch at Pulicat as well as Venkata's war against St. Thome were due to this fact [1]. "Consequently", the Viceroy adds, "I have to say that it is not only absolutely necessary to have them (the Jesuits) at Chandegri (Chandragiri) close to the King, who loves them, but even in Paleacate (Pulicat), after the capture of this fortress from the Dutch...and in other places of that coast" [2]. The Viceroy's wishes were never fulfilled. Venkata died soon after; the turbulent period that followed was not conducive to the re-establishment of the suspended mission; but Fr. Rubino in a letter dated from St. Thome, November 29th, 1617, says that there were hopes that the mission of Vellore would be renewed after the end of the civil war [3]. Nevertheless, as far as we know, there were no more Jesuits permanently residing either at Vellore or at Chandragiri during the supremacy of the Emperors of Vijayanagara.

12. What was the real character of the Jesuit mission at the court of Venkata? Their stay first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore was not prompted by a desire for temporal advantages. Though they sometimes inclined Venkata in favour of the Portuguese, this was not the main purpose of their mission. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, in the above quoted letter, spoke of them only from this political point of view. But Fr. Pimenta had ordered the establishment of this mission "in order to preach here the doctrine of Jesus Christ", as Ricio says in one of his letters [4]; du Jarric says likewise that Pimenta's purpose was

1. Cf. Ch. XXI, Nos. 13 and 15.

2. From the same letter of the Viceroy to Philip III. These extracts of the Viceroy's letter to his sovereign do not agree at all with the accusations of Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, p. XXXII, and of Rangachari, *History of the Nayak Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 181.

3. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

4. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 638.

"to make known the Christian faith in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara)" [1].

The importance of this enterprise is frequently emphasised in the Jesuit letters of those days: "There are in this kingdom such extensive regions and populous cities", Ricio again wrote in 1603, "that if God calls them to the faith (as we hope), numberless labourers will be needed for working in this vineyard" [2]. Again, in January, 1604, the Provincial Laerzio informed Fr. General that "the Residence of Chandragiri in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) was an enterprise of great importance. We expect many conversions there. If but one of those chiefs wishes to be baptised, the rest, it seems, will follow his example" [3]. Laerzio repeats the same in 1605 [4]. Such were the hopes of the Jesuits of those days that the King of Spain, Philip III, evinced much interest in the affairs of this mission, not precisely for political motives, but on account of his zeal for the propagation of the faith. Accordingly on December 23rd, 1604, he wrote to his Viceroy: "I expect you will inform me about the results obtained by those (Jesuits) who reside next to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" [5].

The first conversion is recorded by Ricio in a letter of 1601; not perhaps a real conversion, since Ricio says that the person baptised was a child (*menino*), [6], who might have died soon after. As a matter of fact Laerzio says in 1604 that "no conversions were made till now" [7]. In 1606, Fr. Roiz wrote from

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

2. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

3. From Fr. A. Laercio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

4. From the same to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

5. From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B, No. VII.

6. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 29th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

7. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

St. Thome that in Chandragiri the Fathers had baptised six persons who were their servants; at the same time he says that "there is no hope of more conversions, because these negroes (*sic*) are very obstinate in their diabolic doctrines, about which I have before written to Your Reverence; they certainly acknowledge that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it. Hence they want to keep it, since it is according to their own customs and received from their ancestors" [1]. At the end of the same year, 1606, Coutinho announces that besides the six Christians of Chandragiri, there are five more in Vellore [2]. In 1607, Laerzio informs Fr. General that Fr. Rubino has made some Christians in Chandragiri [3]. But Fr. Rubino himself writes that the persons converted were only four; there were besides eight others who were then being instructed. "We are working as much as possible to propagate our holy faith", he says, "but *janua clausa est* (the gate is shut), and great grace of God is required to open it; we must incessantly knock at it again till it be opened. Our knocking however from outside will be nothing, if God does not from the inside knock with his divine inspirations, as we hope He will do" [4]. In the following year, 1608, the few Christians of Chandragiri were persecuted by the governor of the town [5], while Coutinho baptised an old man at Vellore [6].

No more conversions are mentioned in the letters of those missionaries. "It is a matter of great sorrow to see the door

1. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607. Ap. C, No. XVII.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV.

6. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

so closed to the Gospel", writes Rubino in 1609 [1]. And Laerzio himself says in 1611: We shall try every possible means to get the expected harvest from this mission; this (fruit) was very much diminished this year" [2]. With this good hope the Vijayanagara mission met with its end; that very year, as has been related, the Jesuits were withdrawn from their posts [3].

1. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXI.

3. It has been supposed that the Jesuits were also established in the very city of Vijayanagara during the time of its splendour, or perhaps during Sadasiva's reign. Cf. Slater, *Where Religions Meet*, *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p 307-8. We are sure that no Jesuit was ever established in the city near the Tunghabadra; nor do we even know of any other missionary settled there. The only information we have is that in the year 1542 Fr. Antonio Patrao or Petronio, a Franciscan Friar, converted 1300 Hindus in the kingdom of Vijayanagara (not in the City) and built a church dedicated to St. Anthony, which was afterwards converted into a monastery. The place where this missionary obtained this harvest is not given. Cf. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 86.

CHAPTER XXIII

VENKATA II AND THE ART OF PAINTING

SUMMARY.—1. Indian painters at Venkata's court.—2. Venkata's interest in the art of painting shown in his first audience to the Jesuits.—3. Bro. Alexander Frey, painter to the Emperor.—4. Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona called for the mission of Vijayanagara.—5. His introduction to Venkata. His paintings.—6. Venkata's kindness to Fontebona.—7. The Provincial of Malabar wishes to promote Fontebona to the Priesthood.—8. Fontebona's removal from the Court. His death in Bengal.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric.

VENKATA II'S predilection for the art of painting deserves a special chapter on his relations with the painters at his court.

Unfortunately we know nothing about the Indian painters employed in his capital; their very existence is only known to us through a European source. Fr. du Jarric states that there were several native painters at Chandragiri; but these artists could not have approached the standard of the European paintings presented to the King by the Jesuits [1].

About the two European painters who resided for some years at Chandragiri and at Vellore, our store of information is considerable. Hence we are able to trace the course of Venkata's relations with them. Incidentally the subject will serve to give to our readers a hitherto unknown aspect of the character of that monarch.

2. In the course of the first audience given by Venkata to Frs. de Sa and Ricio, the sovereign asked them about the King of Portugal. They happened to have with them several small portraits of Dom Sebastiao and his predecessors and showed them to the King. Venkata was amazed at seeing them. He scrutinised them carefully and passed them on for examination to the attendant nobles. They too were astonished at the per-

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 669.

fection of these European paintings. Then Venkata inquired of his visitors whether there was at St. Thome a good painter. The Fathers replied that there was indeed one; and as a proof of their statement, offered to the sovereign another painting recently done at St. Thome. It represented the Gospel parable of the rich Epulon and the beggar Lazarus. Venkata asked for the explanation of this subject, which was courteously given in Telugu by Fr. Ricio. His explanation, according to du Jarric, resolved itself into a sermon on hell; Ricio was prepared with the subject-matter before leaving St. Thome; but now he was so carried away with his declamation that his pronunciation was often faulty, and occasionally made the nobles laugh [1].

At the farewell audience some days later, Venkata questioned the Fathers once more about the painter they had at St. Thome [2]. From these facts de Sa and Ricio reasonably inferred that it would be of great importance for the future mission to have such a painter in the residence which was to be established at Chandragiri, and the idea was most likely communicated to Fr. Pimenta.

3. This painter was the Jesuit Lay Brother Alexander Frey. We know nothing more about him except that he was an Englishman, as the letters of those days often record [3].

In spite of the King's wishes, Bro. Alexander, as he is commonly called, was not among the Jesuits who reached Chandragiri in 1599. But in the following year we find him installed at Venkata's court. A Jesuit letter of 1600 gives some interesting information about his work at the imperial palace. It runs as follows: "Bro. Alexander showed to the King one of his paintings that represents the three Magi adoring our Saviour recently born and put in the manger. He offered besides to the sovereign another painting, showing the Blessed Virgin with Her Child in her arms. The King bowed before it and placed it in one of the rooms of his palace. The Brother is now painting another one of Christ's descent into hell. He

1. Ibid., p. 665.

2. Ibid., p. 670.

3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

(the King) is eagerly waiting for it, because out of many pictures previously shown he selected this and the preceding one to be reproduced. He talks quite unreservedly with the Brother. It happened once that the King was looking on while the Brother was painting; the latter happened to say that some of the colours required for his work were some times lacking; then the sovereign returned to his apartment, and came out bringing in his own hands a hundred gold pieces, which he gave to the Brother, in order to get all the necessary things" [1].

Fr. Ricio informs us that at the end of 1601, Bro. Alexander was still working at Chandragiri, and was a great favourite with the King. In the same letter, he asks the General of the Society permission to give a beautiful painting to Venkata on the General's behalf [2].

No further mention of Bro. Alexander Frey is discoverable in the Jesuit letters from Chandragiri. He probably left the court in 1602. We cannot assign any reason for his departure, though some years later we find his name among the missionaries of Malabar.

4. No doubt Frey's departure from Chandragiri was a blow to the recently founded mission. This enterprise required the support of the powerful sovereign; and the presence of a painter among the missionaries was conducive to this support. Hence the Provincial Fr. Laerzio, who, probably before leaving Italy, had made the acquaintance of an Italian Lay Brother, also a good painter, wrote to Fr. General in 1603, requesting a man of his type for the mission of Vijayanagara [3]; and repeated his petition in the following year [4].

This Lay Brother's name was Bartolomeo Fontebona or Fontebuone. Owing to his artistic talent he became one of the most intimate friends of Venkata. It would seem that Fr.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

2. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1611, Ap. C, No. I.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

4. Ibid.

General sent him to India immediately upon the first petition of Laerzio; for Laerzio himself, in January of the year 1605, wrote to Aquaviva that Fontebona had already been in Goa for two years [1]; but that the Provincial of Goa, Fr. Manoel de Veiga, had retained him in that city, in order to paint the new church of the Professed House [2]. Five years later, in 1607, Fontebona wrote from Vellore: "I have been told that a Flemish Lay Brother, himself a very good painter, was coming (to India); I was very glad, indeed, for he will be able to finish the painting of the new church of the Professed House, started by me" [3].

The Provincial of Malabar wrote again to the General in 1605, pressing for the services of Fontebona in the Vijayanagara mission: "We are very much in need of Bro. Bartolomeo, the painter, for this Christendom", he said; "but Fr. Provincial (of Goa) will not allow him to leave Goa, if Your Paternity do not order him to do so. When in Rome I asked Your Paternity for this Brother for this Christendom; he has already been at Goa for two years; I should think that they must be quite satisfied" [4].

Most likely the General sent his order to the Provincial of Goa, in accordance with Laerzio's wishes; because at the end of 1606, Fontebona was already at St. Thome waiting for an opportunity to go to Venkata's court. He happened to arrive there when the Jesuits had retired from the capital of the Empire, owing to the sudden storm occasioned by the fight of the inhabitants of St. Thome with the soldiers of the *adigar*. Hence Fr. Coutinho, in November, 1606, wrote from St. Thome that "Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebuone is here painting while waiting for a chance to proceed to the court with us; for we hope the

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

2. This was the house and the church of the Bom Jesus, which had been started in 1589. Cf. Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p.279-80.

3. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVI; From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid., No. XIX.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

King will renew our previous relations; for this purpose he was sent to us by our Father (General)" [1].

5. Finally, in January, 1607, the Fathers were allowed to return to Chandragiri, and even to establish a new residence at Vellore, the recently created capital. Fontebona was naturally sent there to be in readiness for the King's orders [2]. He was introduced to Venkata by Fr. Coutinho, who thus describes the audience held on this occasion : " I introduced the Brother (to the King), saying that he had come from far away, by order of our Fr. General, in order to paint before His Highness. He praised this highly, and asked the Brother at once whether he had at that time a good painting to show to him. The Brother had nothing else but the two portraits of our Blessed Fathers (Ignatius and Francis Xavier). The King on seeing them was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted them. I told him I had witnessed his work. Hence he (the King) asked him (Fontebona) to paint others like them in his presence. He replied that he would, and began at once by his order to sketch them on a big panel. The King was surprised to see how quickly the Brother worked. In fact the painting was finished in an hour and a half. He retouched the face of Bl. Father Ignatius. The King on seeing that was greatly astonished; and going back to his lodging, sent him according to his custom a rich golden cloth. He went on with his painting, while we took the opportunity to relate to him the main facts and the miracles and virtues of Bl. Father Ignatius and of Bl. Father Francis (Xavier). The King was much pleased on hearing those things. He (Fontebona) painted also his (the King's) own portrait. He (the King) is a very grave man: on this occasion however he changed the place where he was sitting and moved to another which was selected by the Brother. He remained there until the portrait was completed. Furthermore, to please the King he painted a panel of the Bl. Virgin, Our Lady,

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606–1607, Ap. C No. XXVI.

with the child Jesus in her arms and the holy child, the Baptist, at her side, and St. Joseph in the rear, copying it from a small picture. The panel was finished to perfection; and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of the assembly, opposite his royal throne, where he reads with his learned Brahmans. These asked the King why that painting made by the Christians was there, and so on. The King replied:—

This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also, came from their country. If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?' Such discussions were repeated several times" [1].

By the same letter of Fr. Coutinho we are made aware that Fontebona showed to the King several books and albums of pictures, one of them being that of Fr. Nadal. This especially was liked very much by the King [2]. Then Venkata told the Brother that he was greatly pleased to see him painting those small pictures. Accordingly Fontebona spent a good length of time in this work, and 'has been praised very highly by the King' [3]. The Provincial Laerzio confirms this news, while stating that 'Fontebona is loved by the King and by all' [4]. Fontebona himself at the same time reports: "I am at Vellore at present...My daily occupation consists in painting several things in the palace and in the King's presence. His Majesty is as much pleased by watching me paint painting, as I am pleased by gratifying him" [5].

6. As a result of this continual work, Fontebona fell sick at the end of the same year, 1607. On the occasion of this sickness, Venkata's love towards the Brother was openly shown.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 9.

3. Letter mentioned in note 1.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

5. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

Fontebona himself gives an interesting account of his relations with the monarch at this time. His letter runs as follows: "I once heard, while sick, that the King was going to leave the palace (for a walk). I went to the palace gate in order to greet him while passing. When he went out I presented myself to him and offered him a crystal cup full of rose water. He stopped and received the cup with his own hands, saying at the same time how sorry he was to see me so lean and pale from my sickness. On the following day my sickness grew worse; it was necessary to go to St. Thome to recover. I have been there for almost two months. The King on learning that I could not get rid of my disease sent a message through the Queen, instructing me in the way I could be cured. I came back to Vellore after my recovery, and began to paint a panel of Our Lady.

"He (the King) offered me many gifts, but since the Provincial forbade us to receive money, we declined his offerings; this made a great impression on him, so much so that he said to his courtiers that we had never asked for anything. I have also painted several small pictures, specially one of Our Saviour. I once showed to him a painting of Our Lady which I had made presentation to one of our Fathers. He was greatly surprised at the sight of it and took it to his apartments to show it to the Queen; the picture never came back to my hands. Later on we were given to understand that the King had preserved it in a box where he keeps the jewellery, very well covered; we were told moreover that he used to open this box and look at the picture every day" [1].

Fontebona continued his work in the presence of Venkata, who was every day more pleased with the skill of the Italian Jesuit. Fr. Rubino wrote of the latter in the year 1609, that 'he was still often busy painting before the King', and later on the same writer adds that Venkata 'had given the Brother two hundred gold coins (scudi) for buying colours' [2].

1. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C. No. XIX; From the same to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVI.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

7. So great was the help given to the mission by the humble painter, who knew how to keep alive the good-will of Venkata towards the Fathers, that the Provincial Fr. Laerzio, contrary to the custom of the Society of Jesus, thought seriously of promoting him to the sacred priesthood. This would have given Fontebona a better opportunity to work for the propagation of the faith.

Laerzio in a letter to Fr. General dated November 20th, 1607, after paying tribute to Fontebona's virtue, example and goodness, adds: "It seems to me that he would help us still more in that kingdom if he were a priest; he knows Latin pretty well. It is true that he never manifested to me any wish in any way, nor did other persons speak to me about this. Probably he never thought of this; it is only an idea growing upon me for some years past, that as a priest, he would be of more profit to the service of God. In case my idea is approved of by Your Paternity, kindly send me your permission! I feel sure it will be for the glory of God and for the greater profit of the souls of that kingdom" [1].

8. Apparently the General's permission never came. Fontebona was removed from Venkata's court with the rest of the missionaries at the end of 1611, when the missions of Chandragiri and Vellore were definitely abandoned.

The Superior of Malabar, Fr. Laerzio, after realizing that Bro. Fontebona's work would not be required any more at the court of Vijayanagara, as hopes of re-establishing the mission were groundless, sent him in the company of Frs. Stefano Cacella and Joao Cabral on an expedition to Tibet, that was to start from Bengal. They left Cochin on April 30th, 1626. Having set out on their journey from Hugli, on one of the branches of the Ganges, Fontebona (who was then fifty) was sent back to Hugli from Sripur on account of the difficulties of the enterprise. He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and died there on December 26th, 1626. [2].

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

2. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p. 121-2.

CHAPTER XXIV

FAMILY AFFAIRS. DEATH OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY.—1. The wives of Venkata II.—2. The King gives a garden party to his wives.—3. Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court.—4. Great power of Queen Pedobamamba.—5. Story of the putative son of Venkata.—6. Relations between the King and his two nephews Tirumala and Ranga.—7. Venkata's last illness. Appointment of Ranga as his successor.—8. Death of Venkata II.—9. Venkata judged by his contemporaries.—10. Final criticism of this sovereign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Letters to the E. I. C.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Anquetil du Perron, Floris.—6. *Ramarajiyamu*.

VENKATA II's family life was far from pleasant, and the private affairs of his relations hastened the downfall of the Empire itself. This chapter is a narrative of those unfortunate events which precipitated the civil war related in the following volume.

Considerable discussion has arisen concerning the wives of Venkata II, because the contemporary sources agree neither as to their number or their names. Our own opinion is that such differences spring from the obvious fact that these contemporary sources give the number of Venkata's wives at the time of their composition, and could by no means give the names of all the wives of this monarch. In the light of this fact there is really no discrepancy among the different documents; and indeed there is a perfect agreement between the indigenous and the foreign sources.

According to one of Venkata's grants of 1586 he had four wives: Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Pinavobamamba [1]. But in the Dalavay Agraharam plates, which were issued the same year, the name of Pinavobamamba s replaced by that of Krishnamba [2]. This would mean that

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231, note 7.
2. Ibid., XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

Pinavobamamba had died the same year, and that a new wife called Krishnamba filled her place [1]. These four names, *viz.* Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Krishnamba are again mentioned both in the Vellangudi plates [2] and in the Padmaneri grant of the same Venkata II [3], both issued in 1598. But in 1601 the Vilapaka grant mentions five wives: the four just spoken of, plus Kondambika [4], thus showing that between 1598 and 1601 Venkata married another wife named Kondambika. Raghavamba however did not live long. The *Ramarajiyamu*, which seems to have been written towards the close of Venkata's reign, gives only four names: Venkatamma, (Venkatamba), Obamma (Pedobamamba), Krishnamma (Krishnamba), and Kondamma (Kondambika) [5]. The same four names are repeated in a grant of 1633 [6]. One of them however must have died early; for when the death of Venkata occurred at the end of the following year, 1614, only three wives committed *sati*, according to both Fr. Barradas and Floris, who will be quoted later on. We cannot ascertain which of these four consorts of Venkata died previous to his death; but we may affirm that the question lies between Krishnamba and Kondambika. This we shall discuss while narrating Venkata's demise.

According to this explanation Venkata had altogether six wives. Of them Obamma or Pedobamamba was the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja; Krishnamma or Krishnamba was the daughter of Jillella Krishna Raju; and Kondamma or Kondam-

1. There are, however, two grants of Venkata inconsistent with this opinion: one is of 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; the other of 1589, Ibid., XII, Ck, 39. In both documents the names of Venkata's Queens are the following: Venkatamba, Raghavamba. Ped-Obamamba, and Pin-Obamamba. Is this simply a mistake on the part of the engraver, or perhaps Krishnamba and Pin-Obamamba (Pinavobamamba) are two different names of the same person? In the latter supposition Venkata's wives would have been in all only five in number.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.
3. Ibid., p. 297, v. 30.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 270.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231.

mbika was the daughter of Gobburi Oba [1]. This Gobburi Oba or Oba Raya had, moreover, another daughter who was married to Venkata. We are inclined to believe that she was Raghavamba. This information comes from the Jesuit sources of 1598–9, when the first Jesuits visited Venkata's court: "The King", says du Jarric, "had married two of his (Oba Raya's) daughters" [2]; and the same author says later on that Oba Raya had "two daughters married to the King" [3]. Now we know the names of the fathers of the other three of Venkata's wives at that time. Raghavamba's father is unknown to us. It is true that the first mention of Kondambika is found in 1601; but she might have been married to Venkata a little earlier. Thus the explanation holds good that when the Jesuits first visited Venkta's court two of Venkata's wives were daughters of Oba Raya.

The *Ramarajiyamu* makes no reference to the family of Venkatamba. She is the only one whose father is not mentioned. Hence she must be the one spoken of by Fr. Barradas as the daughter of Jaga Raya, by the name of Bayamma, [4] 'as any lady could be called Bayamma in Telugu', to quote Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar [5]. She appears to have been the first Queen, as she is always mentioned first, and may be identified with the one said by Barradas to be 'of the same age as the King' [6].

2. Fr. du Jarric, relying invariably on the contemporary Jesuit letters, gives interesting details of a feast prepared by Venkata for his Queens in 1698.

"One of those days (during the Jesuits' first stay at Chandragiri) the King invited the Queens to a garden outside the city to enjoy themselves there... The retinue which accompanied them proceeded as follows: in the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan, urrounded by four or five knights; there were several silk

1. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.
3. Ibid., p. 674.
4. Sewell, p. 223.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 20.
6. Sewell, p. 224.

standards in this company; after this there came a flute and a vinaband: the players rode several camels; many foot soldiers were also to be seen. Then the Delenais (Dalavays), or chief captains followed; they proceeded on foot and were fully armed; in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried: there were several court nobles around. Next, a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it [1]; the King himself then advanced on a gold sedan-chair, with many courtiers and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas; then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks; the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East; a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard. After this there came the chief Delevay (Dalavay) of the kingdom, and at last the Prince (Ranga) with the King's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan-chairs, with great pomp; the Queens were carried in shinning gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones; next to every litter two umbrelas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun; there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their mistresses. Such was the order of his state procession when the King went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday. He came back on the same day after sunset; so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour" [2].

3. Up to the year 1606 the influence exerted by Oba Rāya and his family at the court of Venkata may be seen both from the Hindu inscriptions and from the Jesuit sources. An inscription of Venkata at Narasingapuram mentions Gobburi Oba Raya and the gifts of sixty-five gold pieces called Venkatarayavarahans. Oba Raya seems to have regulated the festivals

1. This gong was '*longitudine duorum doliorum*', according to du Jarric. I cannot estimate its size, since the name *doliorum* means quite a different thing in Latin. It is possibly a mistake

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 673–4.

and daily services in the temple of Alagiyasingar at Kuvam Tyagasamudranallur [1]. In another inscription at Kuvam, Chingleput, he is styled Mahamandalesvara Gobburi Oba rajayyadeva Maharaja, and is said to have provided for specia worship in the Margaly month, in the temple of Tiruvirkoles vara [2]. Another inscription of 1547 mentions the gift of 120 varahas by Narasammangaru, 'wife of the Mahamandalesvara Gobburi Obayadeva Maharaja of the Kasyapa *gotra*, for providing offerings to the god Ahobalesvara during his installation ceremonies in the *vasantamandapa* which he had constructed on the North side of the temple at Diguva Tirupati [3].

That this chief was the father-in-law of Venkata II is recorded in the *Ramarajiyamu* [4], in the Jesuit letters [5] and in du Jarric [6]. Now Fr. Barradas speaks of one Obo Raya (*sic*) brother-in-law of Venkata [7]. Is this statement inconsistent with the above mentioned sources? Not necessarily. Oba Raya had at least two sons, as we shall soon see; one of them might easily have been called Oba Raya after his father. The custom of a son being named after his father was not unsual in those days. An inscription of 1557 at Lower Ahobalam, mentions one Obalraju, son of another Obalraju of the Pochiraju family [8].

As to the sons of Oba Raya, Fr. du Jarric informs us that two of them paid a visit to the Jesuits shortly after the latter's first arrival at Chandragiri; they went there accompained by much cavalry. "The Fathers received them with great kindness and showed them several paintings. They liked them so much that they asked to be allowed to take them home to show

1. 243 of 1910.
2. 332 of 1909.
3. 63 of 1915.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 243.
5. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, Ap. C, No. XXII.
6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654 and 674.
7. Sewell, p. 223.
8. 69 of 1915. Cf. No. 5, infra.

them to their wives. They also saw a hydrographical map showing the great Oceans and their gulfs and bays and the innumerable islands all over the world. It was for them a matter of pleasure and instruction as well" [1]. At about the same time one of Oba Raya's sons, different apparently from the two just mentioned, was received among the *gurupus*. The same author relates the ceremony as follows: "The boy was brought over to the temple and placed over the capital of a pillar. His father with his hands clasped before his chest bowed before him; the same ceremony was performed by the rest of those present. Then the boy was invested as *gurupu*, seated on a golden sedan-chair and carried around the city surrounded by numberless people" [2].

Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court is thus recorded by du Jarric: "He (Oba Raya) was one of the highest nobles in the whole kingdom and his authority before the King was very great" [3]. While journeying from St. Thome to Chandragiri, Frs. de Sa and Ricio were given a free passport over any road and river merely by showing the letters patent of this Oba Raya. "A refusal of any officer would have been equivalent to signing his death sentence; such was Oba Raya's power," says du Jarric [4]. When the same Fathers were received by Venkata they found Oba Raya seated on the same mat as the King and Prince Ranga [5]. This favour at Venkata's court was resented in some quarters. Naturally Oba's power was envied by the Dalavay or chief minister; du Jarric describes them as enemies [6]. Now as both enjoyed such great power, they were no doubt the central figures round whom all the courtiers assembled. Thus they became the heads of the parties at Venkata's court.

4. For many years Oba Raya's favour and party remained

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 689.
2. Ibid., p. 673.
3. "Ille e maximis regni procribus erat, et permagnae apud regem autoritatis". Ibid., p. 654.
4. Ibid., p. 658.
5. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 2.
6. Du Jarric, I, p. 680.

triumphant; but after the first two years of the Jesuit's stay at Chandragiri, Oba Raya's name is no longer mentioned in Jesuit sources. The cause of this change of fortune was perhaps the death of Raghavamba, which must have taken place at this time: she was probably the favourite wife of the sovereign, and for that reason Oba Raya, her father, had acquired such great power in the Empire and such considerable influence at the court.

Kondambika, however, did not replace her sister Raghavamba in Venkata's affection. The new favourite Queen, who is sometimes simply called 'the Queen', is often mentioned in the Jesuit letters from 1606 onwards. In November of this year Fr. Coutinho wrote that 'the Queen,' owing to our sins, has the supreme power in this country', and describes Venkata's total subservience to this consort of his as follows: "He (Venkata) shows such great subjection to the black Queen that she governs every thing. He would rather break the bonds of friendship with everbody than thwart her wishes. She was the cause of our estrangement from the King and will continue hostile till she receives from St. Thome the money and presents she expects, as a satisfaction for their deeds" [1]. In another letter of Fr. Coutinho of the same date it is recorded that the complaints of the inhabitants of Mylapore against the Portuguese of St. Thome were sent to Venkata through the Queen [2]. In November of the following year, Fontebona received, during his illness at St. Thome [3], a prescription from the same sovereign, but it did not reach his own hands before passing through those of the Queen [4]. In January 1608, after the serious defeat suffered by Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, terms of peace between Venkata and this chief were arranged through the influence of the Queen, who received on

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

4. Cf. Ch. XXIII, No. 6.

this occasion the fortress of Canaripatan [1]. In 1611, a letter of Fr. Laerzio sheds more light on the power of this Queen at court: "The King", says he, "has handed over the government to one of his wives and a brother of hers. These two are by no means friendly towards the Fathers, and even less friendly to the Portuguese" [2]. This shows that the favour of this Queen was shared by her brother. The influence of this man, indeed, makes itself felt at the court of Venkata at the same time as that of his sister. Fr. Coutinho, in the letter quoted above of November, 1606, relates that when the Archbishop-Governor of Goa, Fr. Alexio de Menezes, sent a horse to Venkata, the Queen's brother had obtained it from the King even before it had reached the capital [3]. Philip III, writing to Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, on January 31st, 1614, recommends to him "to be on good terms with the brother-in-law of the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" [4]. Another letter of Fr. Coutinho, of 1608, shows that several other relatives of this Queen were elevated to power by her; when speaking of her favour at the court, he says that 'everybody is complaining of her relatives' [5].

The Jesuits never mentioned the name of this woman; but fortunately two other European sources give us a clue to it. For in August, 1611, the English Captain, Anthony Hippon, writing to the East India Company on the result of his expedition to Pulicat [6], simply said: Pellacata (Pulicat) do belong unto the Queen and is given unto her for a dowry by the King, and so she at her own pleasure sets a governor or

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore. October, 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII. Cf. Ch. XVIII, No. 11.

2. From Fr. Laerzio to Fr. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

4. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p. 31.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

6. Cf. Ch. XXI, No. 16.

governess as she pleaseth" [1]. The Queen referred to by Captain Hippon seems no doubt the same as that spoken of by the Jesuits in their letters: she is called 'the Queen' who 'at her own pleasure' manages the Government affairs. But the Dutch traveller Floris, the other European authority, gives us the name of this Queen to whom Pulicat belonged. He says that the Queen of Pulicat was Obiama [2]. She must then be the same as the person called Obamma by the *Ramarajiyamu* and Pedobamamba in Venkata's grants. Consequently the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja obtained supreme power in the government of Vijayanagara after the death of Raghavamba, Oba Raya's daughter.

5. None of these six wives gave a successor to Venkata. Naturally the first wife, Venkatamba, was the most assiduous in trying to secure the succession. Hence when she saw that there were no hopes of a legitimate heir, she managed to deceive the King by passing off on him a son, who was neither hers nor his. The story of this event is narrated in detail by Barradas: "A Brahman woman of the household of the Queen's father", says he, "knowing how strong was the Queen's desire to have a son, and seeing that God had not granted her one, told her that she herself was pregnant for a month; and she advised her to tell the King, and to publish it abroad, that she (the Queen) had been pregnant for a month, and to feign to be in that state, and said that after she (the Brahman woman) had been delivered she would secretly send the child to the palace by some confidant, upon which the Queen could announce that this boy was her own son. The advice seemed good to the Queen, and she pretended that she was pregnant; and no sooner was the Brahman woman delivered of a son than she sent it to the palace, and the news was spread abroad that Queen Bayama (Venkatamba) had brought forth a son. The King, knowing

1. From Captain Anthony Hippon to the E. I. C., August, 1611, *Letters Received by the E. I. C*, I, p. 134. As a matter of fact when Hippon was at Pulicat the governorship was in the hands of a woman.

2. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 336. Floris gives two different spellings: Objama and Obyama.

all this, yet for the love he bore the Queen, and so that the matter should not come to light, dissembled and made feasts, giving the name 'Chica Raya' to the boy, which is the name always given to the heir to the throne" [1].

Barradas does not give the date of this boy's birth. According to Queyroz it took place in 1611, during the siege of St. Thome by Venkata [2]; but this date is not consistent with the fact that the boy was married at fourteen years of age, during Venkata's life-time, as Barradas narrates [3]. This should take us back to 1600 at the least, when we remember that Venkata died in 1614. But we have reason to believe that his birth actually took place some years earlier than 1600, since the Jesuit letters (excepting this one of Barradas, written during the civil war after Venkata's death), never mentioned such a boy. This silence may mean that the memory of this boy's birth was not fresh when the Jesuits reached Venkata's court in 1599. Consequently, we have sufficient reason to locate this event in the first years of Venkata's reign, most likely when the capital was still at Penukonda.

Venkata's conduct towards this putative son of his was most strange. Though he bestowed upon him after his birth the title of Chikka Raya, "yet", says Barradas, "he (Venkata) never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the palace of Çhandigri (Chandragiri); nor ever allowed him to go out of it without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company of the Queen. Withal", continues Barradas, "the boy arriving at the age of fourteen years, he married him to a niece of his, doing him much honour so as to satisfy Obo Raya, his brother-in-law" [4].

This suspicious conduct of Venkata towards this boy naturally roused, no doubt, many suspicions among the nobles and the royal relatives. This explains Fr. Coutinho's information that Venkata had 'many nephews who claimed the

1. Sewell, p. 223.
2. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309.
3. Sewell, l. c.
4. Ibid.

right of succession'[1]. And King Philip III of Spain was informed before 1610 that there were three candidates to the crown of Venkata[2]. Hence even the supposed mother of the boy, Queen Venkatamba, "realized that her son would not be acknowledged as a king (by the nobles)", to quote Fr. Queyroz, "and persuaded him (Venkata) to resign the kingdom in favour of his nephew Chica Raj, son of Rama Raju"[3].

6. We know of the existence of three nephews of Venkata. One was called Ramana. He was the son of one of the sisters of the King, and was living at court, at least in 1604-1606[4]. The other two were the sons of Rama, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, of whom we have often spoken before. Queen Venkatamba ceased to champion the cause of the boy, apparently in 1599. In this year, according to Anquetil du Perron, "Venkata's nephew, Chima Ragion (Ranga,) was the heir-apparent to the crown", in spite of the more grounded rights of his elder brother Tirumala[5]. Ranga therefore was the Prince who, in the same year, was sitting on the same mat as Venkata, when the Jesuit Fathers were received at his court[6]. And du Jarric relates that after this audience with the King, the Jesuits received several visits of the grandees; and among these visitors one was "a nephew of the king, called Chimaragu (Ranga), who is the first after the King and his heir"[7]. "He was a very handsome and prudent man", says Queyroz[8].

Nevertheless at this time Ranga was not yet appointed Chikka Raya or crown prince. Anquetil du Perron tells us

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 359.

3. Queyroz, o.c., p. 309.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XXII.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 167.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 688. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 2.

7. Ibid., p. 689.

8. Queyroz, l. c.

that the trouble about the succession began in 1600, and was caused by the two brothers Tirumala and Ranga[1]. Most likely both had partisans at court. But the chief cause of this trouble was the King himself. Fr. Coutinho, in his letter of the 17th July of same year, 1600, says: "Although the King prefers the younger brother (Ranga) who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the elder one (Tirumala) will be the King, because he is liked by more numerous and powerful chiefs"[2]. Ranga then had only the King's predilection in his favour; while the right of birth and the esteem of the subjects were on the side of Tirumala.

As a mater of fact, Fr. Countinho in the same letter calls Tirumala 'the heir of this kingdom'[3]. Again Tirumala is called 'the crown prince' by Fr. Guerreiro in 1604[4]; and Fr. Coutinho once more calls him 'the Prince', in a letter of 1608[5], although in the same letter he states that Venkata 'does not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala'[6]. Such was the hatred of the sovereign for the elder of his two nephews. Thereupon prince Tirumala retired from Seringapatam, as already narrated, according to the wishes of Venkata himself.

Tirumala, being thus disgraced in the eyes of the nobles on account of his shameful retreat from Seringapatam, was no longer supported by the nobility against the designs of Venkata. It was most probably then that Ranga was publicly adopted by his uncle, and became consequently the heir-apparent, according to the *Ramarajiyamu*[7].

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 170.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. Ibid.

4. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

6. Ibid.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213-4. It is very strange that Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122, calls Rama Deva the grandson of Venkata, naturally supposing that Ranga II was his son.

7. In the meantime Venkata II was getting too old to rule over turbulent feudatory chiefs such as the Nayak of Vellore; especially when family intrigues were contributing to the work of subverting the kingdom. In a letter of 1607 Fr. Coutinho tells us that 'the King is very old and is apparently at the end of his life'[1]. Laerzio in 1608 also says that Venkata is very old[2], and again makes the same statement in 1611[3]. Another Jesuit letter of 1611 states that "the King is too old and dotes at times; hence those who govern the kingdom do always what they like"[4]. In 1610 Philip III of Spain wrote to Ruy Lourenco de Tavora: "I have been informed that the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) is very old"[5]. Three years later, the same Viceroy, Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, wrote to Philip III that Venkata "is so old that every body expects his death at any moment, and naturally dissensions will ensue"[6].

His death however did not occur till the end of the following year. Venkata, when his end drew near, renewed the appointment of prince Ranga as his successor. This scene is marvellously described by Fr. Barradas, as follows:—

"Three days before his death, the King, putting aside, as

Perhaps this pedigree is founded on the adoption of Ranga by his uncle. We think however that this mistake of Rice is based on a grant of Venkata III, 1639, according to which Rama Deva is the grandson of Venkata II. Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198. Mr. S. V. Viswanatha also seems to believe that Tirumala and Ranga, the sons of Rama of Seringapatam, were sons of Venkata II. Viswanatha, *The Jambukesvaram Grant*, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 91.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV.

3. From the same to the same, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 359.

6. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Raya (Ranga), in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Raya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, and was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Raya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed" [1].

8. Barradas says that Venkata died six days after the proclamation of Ranga. But there is nothing in his narrative to show the exact date of his death. We may however aproximately calculate it with the aid of other sources referring to this event.

The Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, first announced the death of Venkata II to his sovereign on December 31st, 1614 [2]; but the traveller Floris heard of it whilst at

1. Sewell, p. 223-4.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVII. Again on January 21st 1615, the same news is communicated to the King by Dom Jeronymo Cf. Ap. B, No. XIII.

Masulipatam on October 25th, 1614: "On the five and twentieth (of October)," says he, "came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa" [1]. Anquetil du Perron says that news of Venkata's end was received on October 28th, but he does not say where such information was received [2]. Consequently we may safely affirm that Venkata II died about the middle of October, 1614. He died most likely in his palace of Vellore, where he resided. John Gourney, a servant of the East India Company, in a letter of July 18th, 1614, calls him 'the King of Vellour' [3]. Floris also, while speaking of his death, refers to him as 'King of Velur' [4]. According to Barradas he was then sixty-seven years old [5].

"His body", continues Barradas, "was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods, sandal, aloes, and such like; and immediately afterwards three Queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the King, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity" [6]. Floris confirms the whole of this account, and adds that one of the three wives burned with Venkata's corpse was 'Obyama, (Pedobamamba), Queene of Paleacatte (Pulicat)' [7].

9. Venkata II's character was exceedingly attractive, if we are to believe his contemporaries. Du Jarric says that he

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 338.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
3. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patania, July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E. I. C.*, II, p. 83.
4. Purchas, l. c.
5. Sewell p. 224.
6. Ibid.
7. Purchas, l.c.

was a 'most affectionate King' [1]. Coutinho testifies that 'his character was sweet and meek' [2]. Laerzio mentions 'his natural goodness and great qualities' [3]; Fontebona states that he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European' [4]. Finally his Mangalampad grant records that he was 'indifferent to other men's wives' [5].

These great personal qualities made him an exceptionally great monarch. All the Hindu sources of his time or posterior to his death unanimously praise him as one of the greatest sovereigns of the Vijaynagara Empire, 'a great and pious sovereign', as recorded in the *Prapannamrtam* [6]. According to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III 'the wise glorious Venkatapatidevaraya ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame' [7]. The Utsur grant of Ranga III calls him 'brilliant in polity' [8]. Another grant of Venkata III styles Venkata a King 'of brilliant policy, his fame illumining the ten cardinal points' [9]. A grant of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura records that Venkata ruled 'in wisdom' [10], and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata himself state that 'he ruled the earth with justice', and that, 'as Rama governed the world, he ruled the earth' [11]. The Dalavay Agraharam plates (of the same Venkata) describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war: "He was a wishing tree to the poor", they say, "he was like the

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 665.
2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.
3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV
4. From Br. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 33, v. 37.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 20.
8. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 23.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.
10. Ibid., VI, Cm, 79.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.

central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Aravidu...; he was the best of (the) kings, the foremost of the kings of the race of Atri,...a munificent givenlike Kubera....was broad-armed like Kubera,.. a Ramabhadra in battle"[1]. The Mangalampad grant describes the liberality of this monarch even more poetically. It runs: "Behaving like a grand-father to friends and foes, intent on giving refuge to enemies who bowed to him, his splendour was eulogized by all men"[2]. Venkata's generosity was one of his outstanding features; as Fr. Coutinho remarks, 'he was very liberal'[3].

As regards the territory ruled over by Venkata exaggerations too obviously poetic to be misleading are found in these and similar sources. According to the Vellangudi plates 'he ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Setu'[4]; or 'he defeated his enemies from the bridge (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas', according to the Mangalampad grant[5]. If we are to believe the Vilapaka grant, the whole of India was under him[6]; and consequently, he boasts of having had as vassals the Rattas, the Magadas, the Kambojas, the Bhojas, the Kalingas; and the Kings of these countries 'were his doorkeepars' and 'used to praise him'. Such are the extravagant expressions of the contemporary grants[7]; these boastful phrases are copied from the old grants of Venkata's predecessors. Truth is stated once in the Vilapaka grant, where Venkata is said to have 'ruled over the country of Karnata'[8].

10. Impartial history however must admit that Venkatapati Raya II was by far the most illustrious, and beyond doubt

1. Ibid., XII, p. 186-7., vv. 37-39.
2. Butterworth, I, p. 32, v. 27.
3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 300.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 34, v. 40.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 371.
7. Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Vellangudi plates, Ibid., XVI, p. 319, v. 31; Mangalampad grant, Butterworth, I, p. 34, v. 39; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 125.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270.

the most powerful King of the Aravidu dynasty. He checked with an iron hand the adventurous expeditions of the Golkonda Sultan, and recovered extensive territories which had been lost in the reigns of both his father and his brother Ranga. Bijapur, agitated with internal dissensions, and the Portuguese Viceroy, mistrusting the friendship with Akbar, formed an alliance with Venkata against the imperialistic plans of that Mughal sovereign. Both events imply great success in foreign policy.

As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkata's reign [1] were years of prosperity and comparative peace. Certainly he had to subdue many chiefs, not only in the beginning of his reign but even in his last years, but it was necessary to proceed in this matter without hesitation: had he done otherwise, the Empire would have come to an end fifty years earlier. Venkata's action in these sad affairs was always crowned with the greatest success. The country immediately subject to him is described by the Jesuits passing through or living at his court, as prosperous and well administered, except during the last years of his reign, when he took very little direct part in the government. His broadmindedness is evident both in his admission of the Jesuits to his court, and in his friendly diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The privileges enjoyed by the citizens of St. Thome and Negapatam and the concession made to the Dutch of the port of Pulicat were the best measures for fostering industry and commerce in the country. They may be considered as the preliminary steps towards the concession of a spot near the city of Madarasa to the English traders by one of his successors, Ranga III.

Moreover Venkata was a great patron of literature, as we shall see in the following chapter. Fine arts were likewise fostered by him, a fact which gives an aesthetic side-light on his interesting character.

Three flaws however stand out conspicuously in the long and glorious life of Venkata. The first is the part he took in the extinction of the Tuluvá dynasty. There is now little doubt, that the murder of Sadasiva was committed by him. The

1. The Pandyan Chronicle erroneously assigns 39 years to the reign of Venkata II. See Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 38.

imprisonment of this unfortunate sovereign by Rama Raya might be in some way justified, but his assassination cannot be vindicated by either private rivalry or public policy.

The second blot in his public character is his retirement from government during the last years of his life. The rule of his favourite wife and her relatives was fatal to the Empire, if we are to believe the Jesuit letters. The discontent of the nobles sprang from this uxorious helplessness, as is recorded by these same witnesses; it most likely prepared the ground for the outbreak of the civil war that followed the death of the sovereign.

But the greatest defect of Venkata as ruler of the Empire of Vijayanagara was his predilection for his second nephew Ranga. The love which actuated the Emperor when he appointed Ranga his successor in spite of the latter's protestations, was no doubt the immediate cause of the subsequent civil war. Its purpose was indeed to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne; but most likely Jaga Raya would not then have found supporters among the nobles for his enterprise in favour of his so-called grandson. Venkata alienated the good will of many grandees and feudatory chiefs of the Empire by the repudiation of Tirumala. This prince was loved by more and stronger chieftains, as stated in the Jesuit letters; and when they saw Tirumala displaced by his younger brother, they naturally showed their disgust of the appointment made by Venkata by joining the rival party. Barradas himself, after recounting Venkata's death-bed appointment of Ranga, adds: "While some rejoiced, others were displeased"[1]. That was the first cry of rebellion against the newly appointed Emperor, Ranga II. It is for this reason that Floris says that, after receiving the news of the death of Venkata, "great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle now built in Palecatte"[2]. The subsequent civil war was evidently a foregone conclusion.

Venkata II ought no doubt to be credited with the temporary restoration of the old glory of Vijayanagara; but as the unconscious cause of the civil war that followed his demise, he must be said to have weakened the imperial authority and hastened the ruin of the Empire.

1 Sewell, p. 224.

2. According to Sewell, II, p. 251.

CHAPTER XXV

LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER THE FIRST ARAVIDU SOVEREIGNS

SUMMARY.—1. General remarks on Southern Indian Literature during this period.—2. Sadasiva and Rama Raya, as patrons of literature.—3. Ramarajabushana Bhattu Murti and his works.—4. Learned people that gathered round Tirumala and Ranga I.—5. Venkata II the greatest patron of literature of the Aravidu Dynasty.—6. Philosophers patronized by Venkata II.—7. Poets and grammarians favoured by the same monarch.—8. Learned people at the court of Tanjore.—9. Other contemporary writers throughout the Empire.—10. The 'grant' poets of the Aravidu family.—11. The University of Madura.—12. Course of Philosophy at the Madura University: a criticism.—13. Minor schools founded by the Jesuits.—14. Progress of the Jesuits in the study of Southern Indian languages.—15. First printed works in Tamil.—16. Extinction of the Nandinagari alphabet.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Raghavendravijaya, Lakshmivilasam, Charuchandrodayam, Chandrabhanu Charitram.*—3. Jesuit letters.—4. Du Jarric.

IT is not our purpose here to write the history of the Literature in Southern India during the period covered by this volume. Our aim is merely to give an outline of the literary activity under the first monarchs of the Aravidu Dynasty, showing especially their relations with the poets, philosophers and other writers that flourished round the royal throne as well as under several of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire. Learning was liberally encouraged under the regime of the Aravidu Dynasty, and consequently was highly developed under the kindly shade of royal patronage. According to Prof. Julien Venson, this period is marked out from the others by the publication of the prolific Vaishnava literature. As Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar calls the time extending from 1450 to 1850 the Modern Period of Literature, the different authors and works we propose to enumerate fall under this denomination. During this Modern Period, "the works produced were not confined to

any one subject or department of literature," says Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar. "They embraced Hindu theology, philosophy, ethics, traditions and grammar. Islamism and Christianity also added their contributions to the Tamil literature of this period" [1]. The majority of the works however were written in Telugu; another proof of the dominating power of the Telugu race and language.

2. Literary patronage did not belong exclusively to the Aravidu Dynasty. Several of the preceding sovereigns of Vijayanagara were declared patrons of the literary activity of their subjects; and Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family, favoured several learned people during the first stage of his Regent's rule. In 1545 the young Emperor granted two villages, one to Srimat Talapaka Tirumalayagaru, called 'the establisher of the two schools of the Vedanta' [2]; and another to Tiruvengalanatha, styled 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas' [3]. Again in 1549-50 Sadasiva granted the village of Mamidipundi to Acharayya, a learned Brahman, who is said to be 'a lion to the elephants, which are his controversialists' [4].

Sadasiva's Regent, the powerful Rama Raya, was also a patron of learned men, more especially of poets, and was, perhaps, even a poet himself. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that Rama Raya is 'a King Bhoja in exercising imperial sway over the sentiments of poetry' [5]. One of the protégés of Rama Raya was the great sage Ramanuja, to whom the grant recorded in the British Museum plates was made by Sadasiva at the request of Rama Raya [6]. His guru, Tatacharya, who lived with them for some time at Chandragiri [7], wrote a work entitled *Panchamatabhanjanam* [8]. The Madhva

1. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 224.
2. Rangacharya, II, p. 783, 337.
3. Ibid. p. 784, 343.
4. Butterworth, I, p. 100, vv. 45-49.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 2.
7. Cf. Ch. III, No. 9.
8. Gopinatha Rao, *The Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 347.

teacher Vijayindra, the successor of Surendra, was also patronized by Sadasiva's Regent; he was well versed in several arts and wrote works on various religious subjects. Rama Raya honoured him with 'jewel baths' and presented him with several villages [1]. Shashta Parankusa of the Ahobala *matha*, was also prominent among Rama Raya's attendants; he wrote a number of works, such as the *Siddhantamanidipam*, *Panchakaladipika*, *Prapattiprayoga*, and *Nrisimhastava* [2]. This Vaishnava teacher was for a time the agent of Rama Raya [3]. But the highest literary authority of the court of Rama Raya was the poet Bhattu Murti, who received the title of Ramarajabushana, 'the ornament of the court of Rama Raya.'

3. There has been much controversy about the identity of this person. Some maintain that he is not actually one person, but that the name discloses two different poets, one called Bhattu Murti and the other Ramarajabushana. The *Vasucharitramu* is mentioned as the work of the former, and the *Narasabhupaliyamu* assigned to the latter. There can however be no doubt about their identity; the commentators of the *Vasucharitramu*, who flourished shortly after him, say that he wrote the *Narasabhupaliyamu* to illustrate the figures of speech used in his former work, the *Vasucharitramu*. He appears to have been born at Battupalli during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, though he did not begin to write before 1560. He acquired such fame in the six years that Rama Raya's life was still to last, that in so short a period he earned the most flattering title of 'the ornament of his court'. His great works however were written after his patron's death. He continued to be the court-poet during the reign of Tirumala, to whom his great work, the *Vasucharitramu*, is dedicated. This poem reproduces the story of Vasu, King of Pratishtana, who fell in love with Girikanyaka, supposed to be the daughter of the mountain Kolahala. She had been found by Vasu in the forest while hunting. The work is full of poetical exaggerations; but it was

1. *Raghavendravijaya*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 252.
2. Rangacharya, II, p. 971.
3. 65 of 1915.

nevertheless much admired by its contemporaries, and even became a model for later poets. As a matter of fact, the descriptions of nature are excellent and the diction of the poem undeniably good.

His second work, the *Narasabhupaliyamu,* is dedicated to Narasaraya, a nephew of Rama Raya and Tirumala. This work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit *Prataparudriya.* The examples and the portion dealing with the drama were omitted, and substituted by other examples prepared by the poet himself. Another work of his, the *Harischandru-Nalopakhyana,* was composed in his ripe old age, probably during the reign of Venkata II [1].

4. We have already mentioned Tirumala as a patron of Battu Murti. He was indeed a lover of learning. It would seem he was a poet himself; this the title of Bhoja, given him in the Krishnapuram plates, would imply [2]. He enjoyed the company of poets; once Tirumala asked those who were assembled at his court to compose verses describing him, 'charging them at the same time to be true to nature and not to exaggerate'. It was then that Battu Murti compared the one-eyed King with Vishnu [3]. He flattered Tirumala, though at the same time he was true to nature [4].

Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Srutiranjani* on the *Gita Govinda*; but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakshmanasuri, a worshipper of Dakshinamurti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukuru. Dr. Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary, and Tirumala his patron [5]. Lakshmanasuri, called also Ramanandasrama and Lakshmidhara, was a *sannyasi* pupil of

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* p. 295; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 231; Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.,* XXVII, p. 332-5.
2. *Ep. Ind.,* IX, p. 338, v. 92.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 231.
4. Cf. Ch. XI, No. 1.
5. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.,* III, p. VIII

Krishnasrama, whose family came from Cherukuru on the Krishna river. He is the author of the *Anargharaghava* and the Prakrit grammar *Shadbashachandrika*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemachandra and Bhamaja [1].

Together with his two eldest brothers, Venkatadri is said in the Kallakursi grant to have been patron of poets like King Bhoja [2]. He patronized Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha, the author of the *Paramayogivilasamu*. The *Svaramelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya was written by Rama Raya's order at the instance of Venkatadri [3].

Ranga I also was a patron of poets. His court poet was Rayasam Venkatapati, an officer of his court, who wrote the Telugu poem *Lakshmivilasam* [4]. Another of his ministers, named Rayasa Ahobala, wrote a Sanskrit drama entitled *Kuvalaya Vilasa* [5]; while Bhattakalanka wrote the *Sara-traya* at the request of the same King [6].

5. But the great patron of literature among the first monarchs of the Aravidu family was Venkata II. He himself was considered one of the wisest men of his kingdom. We read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates that 'he was comparable to the ocean in the profundity of his learning' [7]; and in the Mangalampad grant he is said to be 'a very moon to the lotuses, which are scholars' [8]. Accordingly Fr. Ricio tells us in one of his letters that "the King has disputations on God, Philosophy, and Mathemetics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day". Sanskrit was the medium in these disputations. Hence Ricio says that though they were present several

1. Ibid., p. VIII-IX.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 157.
3. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. of, p. 179.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230.
5. Ibid., note.
6. R. Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q. J. M. S.*, X, p. 256.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27–39.
8. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 59.

times they could not join in the debate, since they understood nothing [1].

Again the Mangalampad grant says that Venkata was 'devoted to the protection of the learned' [2]. An inscription of 1612 at Kommaddi, Cuddapah, records a grant of Venkata II to the learned people of Vuputur [3]. In 1602–3 the same King granted the village of Mangalampad to Sri Rangaraja, son of Jagganatharaya, 'the foremost of the students of the Yajus Sakha', a descendant of the cook of the great Ramanujacharya. This cook had himself been famous for his learning in all the scriptures [4]. The Vilapaka grant was also made to a learned man of Urputur, named Tiruvengalanatharaya; he is said to be 'conversant with the eighteen Puranas' [5].

6. Naturally a great number of scholars always crowded the outer halls of the imperial palace, first at Chandragri, and then at Vellore. One of the philosophers favoured by Venkata was the Madhava teacher Sudhindra. He had travelled over the country refuting the teachings of the other religious sects. He defeated all his opponents at the court of Venkata, and was presented by the sovereign with the conch and other emblems of victory. He lived at the town of Kumbhakonam, and was also honoured by Raghunatha of Tanjore with the ceremony of bathing in gold [6].

A contemporary of Venkata also was the great *guru* Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram, a disciple of the great Chidambaram *guru*, Guhainamasivaya. He was the author of *Paramarahasyamalai*, *Chidambara venba*, *Annamalai venba* and other works [7]. An inscription of 1592 at Virinjipuram, North Arcot, states that Periya Errama Naik of Punnarrur

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.
2. Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 23.
3. Rangacharya, I, p. 612, 448.
4. Buttterworth, I, p. 34–6.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, . . v. 47–8.
6. *Raghavendravijaya*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 252.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 105.

granted a house for the establishment of a *matha* to this Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram [1]. His work seems to have been to supervise the offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram [2].

But the great philospher of Venkata's court was his own *guru* Tatacharya, called, as previously noted, 'the ornament of the wise' [3]. The philosophical work he wrote was entitled *Sattvikabrahmavidyavilasa.* He composed also a legendary account of a shrine of Vishnu as Panduranga, who is supposed to have sanctified by his presence in this form the town of Pandharpur, on the left bank of the Bhima; this work is named *Pandurangamahatmya* [4]. We have previously spoken of this man and shall return to him in the following chapter, when reviewing the progress of Vaishnavism during the reign of Venkata II.

7. Among the poets of his court we must mention Chennamaraju, who was patronized by the genaral Pemmasani Timma. Once the poet carried from the Emperor to his patron the various insignia of his position. Out of these Pemmasani Timma presented the poet with the white turban, the white chauks, the palankin, and Talichankattu [5].

Another poet of fame was Tenali Ramalinga. He was first introduced to the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and was still one of the court poets during the reign of Venkata II. In order to please this sovereign he became a Vaishnava in his old days, and then changed his name to Tenali Ramakrishna. His *Lingapurana* was written in the early years of his life. He was born, it seems, in the village of Tenali in the Krishna district; and he studied Telugu so earnestly from his boyhood that he

1. 61 of 1887.
2. 349 of 1913.
3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 27–39.
4. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 327.
5. *Charuchandrodayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 242.

became a perfect master of this language. His wit and humour are praised even today by students of Telugu literature [1].

1. Subramiah Pantulu, o. c., p. 324–6. This author relates the the following humorous anecdote of the life of this poet: "He was of a humorous character and loved to play practical jokes. The *guru* Tatacharya was a very orthodox man, and was in the habit of visiting a cow-stall every morning as soon as he rose from bed, being taken to the place blind-folded in order to view the cow's excrement as the first object seen during the day, thinking it to be a very meritorious act. His habit was to keep his eyes shut and laying hold of a cow's tail to wait till she evacuated when he opened his eyes to behold the excrement. One morning Ramakrishna got up early, and removing the cow from the stall, stood in its place stark naked. The guru came as usual, and instead of the cow's tail he found a man. His rage knew no bounds, and running up to the King, he laid a complaint against Ramakrishna. The King became exceedingly angry and ordered the poet to be forthwith executed. The executioners carried him to a plain and buried him in the earth as far as the neck leaving only his head above ground, agreeable to the sentence passed on him. They left him thus, intending to return with a certain number of elephants to trample him to death. It so chanced that a hump-backed washerman was passing by, and asked the poet how he came to be in such a predicament. 'My good friend', said he, 'I was born a hump-back like yourself, and having long suffered the scorn of ill-mannered individuals, I applied to a sage who had great knowledge of the occult sciences, and begged of him to relieve me from my misfortune. He informed me that if I should consent to be buried up to my neck in this identical spot, I should be entirely cured of my deformity. In pursuance of his directions, I got some of my friends to bury me here, and as I really believe that I am cured already, I shall be very thankful to you if you will verify my statement'. The washerman did as the poet requested and to his utter amazement found him a well-made man; and as he was a credulous fellow, he believed in all that the poet had said. 'As one good deed deserves another', said the washerman to the poet, 'I now ask you to bury me in this place that I may be cured of my bodily deformity as you have been'. Ramakrishna with a grave countenance buried the poor washerman up to the neck, and after the lapse of an hour went to the King to inform him that by the personal interposition of a god, he had been restored to life. The executioners in the interim had executed the washerman, and were making their report to the King that they had killed the poet according to the royal commands. The whole court were consequently astonished to see Ramakrishna, and as the King really believed that the poet had been killed and restored to life by some god, he promised to forgive him the first hundred crimes that he should commit in future'.

The famous general of Venkata Matla Ananta, was another of his favourite poets. The Sidhout inscription records that he is the author of the well-known Telugu poem *Kakusthavijayam*. He also composed several other works, which were highly praised by scholars [1].

Tarigoppula Datta Mantri, another of Venkata's officers, was a patron of poets. His brother Tarigoppula Mallana was one of the court-poets; he gives this information about Datta Mantri in the *Chandrabhanu Charitram* [2]

Ayalu Bhaseara was likewise another of his court poets. Once he was asked by the King to produce some poem. This request he complied with by translating from the Hala Kanada language into Telugu, the work of a man named Retta. This work, entitled *Retta Matam*, is a most heterogeneous medley of different topics, as much related to one author as the rain is to the science of divination, the devils to the sun, moon and planets and the rainbow to the familiar spirits [3].

We must not omit the names of two grammarians who lived at Venkata's court. One of them was Erramadhavarya, who wrote a grammatical work called *Tripadadyotini* and was one of the *pandits* of this sovereign [4]. The other was Battalanka, the author of a work entitled *Sabdanusasana* [5].

8. The example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs. From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets. Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva *acharya* Vijayaindra Tirtha. He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraya Tirtha of the Vyasaraya *matha*, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra *matha*, from whom he received the robes of *sannyasi*, and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth *guru* and *swami* of the *matha*. He

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248; *M.A.D. 1915-1916*, p. 42, No. 19. Cf. *M. E. R., 1916*, p. 148.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 247
3. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée*, III, p. 169-70.
4. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.*, I, p. VIII.
5. Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q. J. M. S.*, X, p. 256.

spent the last days of his life at Kumbhakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Apaiya Dikshita. He also wrote many commentaries on all the important Madhva works. His main books are the following: The *Chakra-Mimansa*, the *Chandrikodahrita-Nyaya-Viparana*, *Nyayamrita-Vyakhya*, and the *Appayyakapola-chepetika* [1]. In 1576 Sevvapa Nayaka of Tanjore requested and obtained from Ranga I the village of Arivilimangalam as a grant to Vijayindra Tirtha. In the grant Vijayindra is said to be 'like a peacock roaming about the garden called the school of Madhvacharya'; he is said moreover to be 'a bee delighting in the scent, the inner meaning, of the flowers called the Sastras' [2].

Vadiraja Tirtha was the co-student of Vijayindra Tirtha under Vyasaraya Tirtha. Vadiraja was also a great controversialist and commentator of the Madhva works. The account of his many pilgrimages is embodied in his *Tirtha-prabandha*. [3].

Sevvappa's son and successor, Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning. In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit of Appaiya Dikshita [4]. This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita. He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitram*, in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Dikshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangithasuthanithi*. By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister, the *Tiruvaiyarru Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil [5].

9. Surappa Nayaka of Jinji was the patron of the famous poet Srinivasa Dikshita, on whom was bestowed the title of Ratnakheta Dikshita, on account of his excellent poetry. He wrote 18 dramas, the most famous among them being the *Bhavanapurushottama*. Besides he composed 60 epics, such as

1. Gopinatha Rao, *The Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 344-6.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 27-44.
3. Gopinatha Rao, o. c., p. 346.
4. 710 of 1904.
5. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 7 and 10.

the *Sathakandavijayamu*, several works on rhetoric, and many commentaries [1].

We have already mentioned Appaiya Dikshita as a protégé of Sevvappa Nayaka Tanjore. He was a Tamil Brahman, who has left more than a hundred works [2]. He was also patronized by the Emperor Venkata II at whose instance he wrote a work on Alankata, called *Kuvalyananda* [3]. But this famous Saiva-Advaita philosopher enjoyed the special favour of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore. In the colophon of his *Sivadityamanidipika* he mentions Chinna Bomma as his patron [4]. This chief performed the ceremony of bathing in gold to honour the scholarship of Appaiya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel [5]. An inscription of Chinna Bomma, of 1582, in North Arcot, records that this scholar constructed the Kalakantheswara temple at Adaipalam [6].

In the petty state of Gandikota we find another poet named Pingali Surana. He was one of the poets of Nandyala Krishnaraja, to whom the work *Kalapurnodayamu* is dedicated. Krishnaraja's successor, Nandyala Timmaya, who as an inscription of 1544 shows [7], was likewise a patron of learned men, also patronized this poet, the author of the *Raghavapandaviya*, the *Garudapurana* and several other works. Mr. Subramiah Pantulu thinks that Pingali Surana 'is by far the best of mediaeval poets' [8].

In the state of Ikeri we must mention Sankanna Nayaka, who composed several literary works [9]; and Vadiraja, a man

1. Ibid., p. 11-3.
2. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 326.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 250. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
4. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.*, II, p. XII-XIII.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 251.
6. 395 of 1911.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 580, 60.
8. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 328-33.
9. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 369.

of great erudition and author of several works; one of his pupils is mentioned in a grant of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri in the year 1614 [1].

The Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam was also a patron of learning. From an inscription of 1610 we may deduce that Ramanujayya, called 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta', was one of his officers [2]. In 1614 the same Tirumala made a grant of a village to Vengadeyya Bhatta, styled also an 'establisher of the path of the Vedas' [3].

Prince Chinna Timmayadeva, the brother of Rama Raya Vitthala, must also be mentioned among the patrons of literature during this period. In 1544 he granted twelve *puttis* of land in the village of Tirumalapuram to its learned Brahmans [4]. In the same year he gave the village of Annavaram to the poet Anantaraja [5]. He was also the patron of Dosuri Konerukavi, the author of the *Balabhagavatamu* [6].

10. Besides all the poets hitherto mentioned as living around the Emperors of Vijayanagara, there was a family of poets who always accompanied them, first from Vijayanagara to Penukonda, and later on from Punukonda to Chandragiri and Vellore. We refer to the composers of the imperial grants; which task seems to have been hereditary in a family. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva were composed by one Śabhapati [7], the same who had formerly composed the Unamanjeri grant of Achyuta Raya [8]. But another grant of the same sovereign, of the year 1558, is written by Sabhapati's son, Svayambhu [9]. The Penuguluru grant [10] and the Tumkur plates of Tirumala [11] were also written by

1. 110 of 1901.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.
3. Ibid., 13.
4. Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 67.
5. Ibid., p. 915, 63.
6. Ibid., I, p. 402; II, p. 915.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 2.
8. Ibid., III, p. 151.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, v. 177-178.
11. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 7,

Svayambhu, who is said to be the son of Sabhapati. The same Svayambhu was the composer of the Arivilimangalam plates [1] and the Naredapalli grant of Ranga I [2]. This Svayambhu had probably no sons, because almost all the grants of Venkata II were composed by a certain Krishnakavi, who seems to be a nephew of Svayambhu, for he professes to be the son of Kamakoti and grandson of Sabhapati. He is the author of the Dalavay Agraharam plates [3], of the Vellangudi plates [4], of the Padmaneri grant [5], and of two grants of 1586 [6] and of 1589 [7]. The Vilapaka grant of the same monarch is written by a brother of Krishnakavi, named Rama [8]. We know of only two grants of this sovereign composed by a person who seems not to belong to the family of Sabhabati; these are the Mangalampad grant [9] and a grant of 1613 [10]. The author of both is called Chidambarakavi, the nephew of Sivasuryakavi.

11. We have not spoken of the literary activity in the city of Madura, which was nevertheless a centre of learning in the South of India. The famous *Sangams* always attracted hundreds of students to the old city of the Pandyas. Fr. de Nobili, an impartial eye-witness, in a letter of 1610, says that there were then in Madura more than ten thousand students. There was not, it seems, a body. professors, corresponding to the staff of our Colleges and Universities; but the students selected the teacher they liked, and under him they were trained to pass their final examination before the *Sangam*. Fr. de Nobili only says that those ten thousand students 'go to different professors'. The same missionary informs us that Venkata II and the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 65.
2. Ibid., XI, p. 339.
3. Ibid., XII p. 187, v. 200.
4. Ibid., XV p. 329.
5. Ibid., p. 297, vv. 152-153.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 295.
7. *M. A. D., 1921*, p. 31.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 272.
9. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 60.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 281.

Nayak of Madura, probably Muttu Krishnappa, had in order to foster study "royally endowed several Colleges for the maintainance of professors and students while they are studying; they are there supplied with victuals, clothes and every thing they are in need of".

The Madura teachers lectured on Philosophy and Theology. The philosophical lectures fell into four groups, corresponding to the four-fold division of this science: Argumentation, Knowledge, Evidence and Faith, In their Theological lectures the teachers explained the Vedanta, discussing the nature and attributes of God, starting from his unity. Fr. de Nobili gives the full programme of the philosophical studies followed in his days at Madura.

12. Part first is on evidence, and deals with invocation or adoration, i. e. whether there be any God to be invoked at the beginning of the work. It contains these three sections :—

1st. Certitude.
- a. Perfect certitude (*Karana*).
- b. Certitude of things which come into existence by generation or production.
- c. The formal aspect of certitude.

2nd. The various species of objective reality, or objects that cause certitude.
- a Local union or contiguity.
- b. Various kinds of union :—substantial, accidental and another which is not seen as not existing physically.
- c. Predicate and subject through negation (*Vipaksa*).
- d. The object of sight.

3rd. The unity and indivisibility of human will, as able to co-ordinate the various perceptions received from the senses.
- a. The brightness of gold (as an instance).
- b. Reflective act through which man knows and understands himself.

Part second is on knowledge, and deals with the following four sections :—

1st. Means of acquiring knowledge (*Pramanas*).
- a. Terms of syllogism. (*Probans*).
- b. The conclusion (*Paramarsa*).
- c. Induction.
- d. Fallacies (*Hetvabhasas: viz. Asiddha, Viruddha, Anaikantika, Prakaranasama* and *Kalatyayapadista*).
- *e.* Causes of fallacy.
- *f.* Its refutation.

2nd. Process of knowledge.
- *a.* Subject (*Paksa*).
- *b.* Discursive act.
- *c.* Causative signs.
- *d.* Every kind of sophism.

3rd. Relation (*Vyapti*).
- *a.* On conjunction or relation subsisting between things that are separable or not intimate (*Samyoga*).
- *b.* On privation.
- *c.* On the effect as proceeding from its cause.
- *d.* Conjunction in general (*Samyoga* and *Samavaya*).
- *e.* Final certitude or consequence.

4th. Casuistry.
- *a.* Cause. (*Karana*).
- *b.* Proof by self-evidence.
- *c.* Certitude from similarities (*Upamana*)
- *d.* The multiplicity of causes (*Samavay,* material or constituent cause ; *Asamavayi,* not constituent cause; *Nimitta,* efficient cause).
- *e.* The natural power and strength of the cause.
- *f.* The additional power of the cause by superaddition.

5th. Vicious states of mind (*Aprama*)
- *a.* Error. (*Bhrama*)
- *b.* Doubt (*Samsaya*)
- *c.* The variation of supposition (*Tarka*).
- *d.* False conclusion from true antecedents.
- *e.* The god Ruden (Ruthru) (as an instance).

Part third is on authority, and speaks of the following subjects:—

1st. Oral testimony.
- *a.* Adequation of words to thoughts (*Sakti*).
- *b.* Common or universal consent.

2nd. Truth.
- *a.* The union of affections in relation to truth.
- *b.* Desire of truth.
- *c.* Corruption of the sounds.
- *d.* Corruption of the whole world, *viz.* can the whole world be deceived as to a truth?
- *e.* The excellency of the form of verifying truth.
- *f.* Whether what is not actually, could be affirmed.

3rd. Falsehood.
- *a.* Novelty of opinion.
- *b.* Annihilation.
- *c.* Personal imposture, *viz.* lie.
- *d.* How must the sign be.

Such was the programme of philosophy followed in Madura in the beginning of the 17th century according to Fr. de Nobili. It was according to him a profound philosophy, but very different from scholastic philosophy [1]. The course is properly a course of Logic, a kind of Tarkabhasa or science of reasoning, though much confused with psychological and metaphysical notions. This kind of Logic evidently belongs to the Syncretist school consequent upon the attempts of Sivaditya to amalgamate the earlier systems. The influence of the *Tarkabhasa* of Kesava Misra is quite evident, as well as that of the works of Annam Bhatta, who was at this time probably living [2].

13. There was moreover at Madura a small school commenced by Fr. Fernandes. It was supposed to be a primary school for Hindus. A Brahman, who finally became a Christian, was teaching the boys how to read and to write. Fr. Pimenta, when passing through Madura, distributed some prizes among the best pupils of the school [3]. Another similar school was erected in St. Thome at the same time by the same Fr. Pimenta. "A Seminarie was erected at Meliapor (Mylapor)", he says, "of the chiefe Children of the Badagades (Telugus), by the almes of Devout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adjoyned, in which

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, November 2nd, 1610, Ap. C, No. XXXI. Cf. Ganganatha Jha, *The Tarkabhasa*.
2. See Keith, *Indian Logic*, p. 36-41.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 650.

is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan (Telugu) used by the Courtiers" [1]. In 1567 Fr. H. Henriquez began a school of Tamil at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists. Fr. Henriquez himself was teacher and a convert Brahman, named Luiz, was his assistant [2].

At the very court of Chandragiri the Jesuits started another school of this type. It was supposed to be a school for the sons of the Telugu nobles who were living at the court. There was in it a Hindu teacher under the direction of the missionaries, who besides defrayed the expenses of the institution [3]. This school and that of Madura are mentioned again in another Jesuit letter of the following year 1607 [4]; and we suppose they continued in the following years. The Chandragiri school was perhaps transferred to Vellore when the capital was established there, and finally closed at the time of the final departure of the Jesuits.

These were the first attempts of the Jesuits in the South of India to found the institutions of learning which were to have a marvellous development centuries after.

14. The Jesuits had, moreover, earnestly studied the languages of the country; and some of them, as we have already seen in the case of Fr. de Nobili at Madura, mastered them to the general admiration of scholars. Among those who were working at the court of Venkata there were also some who became very proficient in speaking the vernaculars. "In this country of (around) Sao Thome," wrote Fr. Ricio in 1601, "two languages are spoken; one is the language of the country, the same that is spoken on the Fishery Coast and which was the first I learned; the other is the language of the Badaguas (Telugu); and since they are alike, I made quick progress in it; so much so that I was soon able to write a grammar of the same language as well as a summary of the Christian doctrine together

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 638.

2. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 393.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVII.

with many mysteries of the life of Christ, all written in their own language" [1]. This summary of the Christian Faith was a translation of the one used in Konkani for the neophytes of the peninsula of Salsette, South of Goa, as Fr. Coutinho writes in a letter of the previous year [2].

It seems, indeed, that Fr. Ricio spoke Telugu to perfection; a Jesuit letter of the year 1606 says that he was a good Telugu scholar [3]. Nevertheless he did not venture to learn Sanskrit because of his age, as Fr. Laerzio wrote in 1604 [4]. In the same letter we read that Fr. Coutinho had begun to learn Telugu. In another letter Fr. Ricio himself informs us that Coutinho is making progress in the study of Telugu [5]. He finally became master of it, as is evident from his protractedly sojourn at the court where he had to transact business for the King.

15. A special feature introduced by the Jesuit missionaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the literary activity of India, was the casting of Tamilian characters; and consequently the printing of the first books in Tamil. According to Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, the first to cast Tamilian characters was the Jesuit Lay Brother Giovanni (Joao) Gonsalves. The same traveller affirms that the first book was printed in the year 1577. It was a summary of the Christian doctrine [6]. Fra Paolino does not name the author of this book; but it seems quite probable to us that Fr. Henrique Henriquez, a zealous Jesuit on the Fishery Coast, and a contemporary of St. Francis Xavier, was

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ibid., No. V.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ibid., No. XXII.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ibid., No. X.

5. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ibid., No. I.

6. Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, *Viaggio*, p. 44. Cf. C. E. K. *Notes on Early-Printed Tamil Books, Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 180. Cf. Houpert, *The Madura Mission Manual*, p. 171. Bro. Gonsalves was a Spaniard, Cf. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 67.

at least its translator. Fr. du Jarric states that Henriquez wrote many books in the language of Malabar, *in lingua Malabarica, viz.* in Tamil [1]. Now we know for certain that one of these books was a translation of a Christian Doctrine written in Portuguese by Fr. Marcos Jorge. Sartorius, while in Tranquebar, saw a copy of this book printed in 1679 [2]. This must be a later edition, for Fr. Henriquez had died by that time. Both editiors of this little book were printed at Cochin in the Jesuit College of the *Madre de Deus* [3]. Fra Paolino says, moreover, that a new Tamil book appeared in 1578. It was entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, from which title we may assume that it contained the lives of some Saints [4]. This work seems to have been printed at Punnei Kayal with Tamil type cast by Fr. Joao de Faria [5]. Fr. De Souza, speaking of these early printings adds :—"Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly" [6].

16. Finally we must mention that the old South Indian Nandinagari alphabet disappeared during this period. Its latest examples are dated 1600. It was the favourite alphabet of the Madhva sect from the 14th century onwards, especially for writing on palm-leaves. The disciples of this sect were numerous in the Tamil country: Kanchivaram, Kumbhakonam, Tanjore and their surroundings. The characters had been formerly employed exclusively for writing on paper, but were latterly also used for writing on palm-leaves. Later on, after the Maratha conquest of Tanjore, the modern Nagari character was also introduced in the South [7].

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 627.
2. *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* p. 106. The title of this Christian Doctrine, as given by Sartorius, runs as follows: *Doctrina Christam, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P. Marcos Jorge, da Companhia de Jesu: Tresladada im lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P. Anrique Anriquez da mesma Companhia. Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre de Deus, a os quartose de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX.*
3. Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, l. c.
4. Ibid.
5. Cf. Gomes Rodeles-Cardou, *Early Jesuit Printing in India, J. A. S. B.*, IX, p. 164.
6. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 67.
7. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 56.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SRI VAISHNAVISM AND OTHER SECTS

SUMMARY.—1. Brahmanism, Saivism and Vaishnavism.—2. Early life of Ramanuja. Persecution of the Chola King.—3. Ramanuja in the Yadava kingdom and at Seringapatam.—4. Schism of Vaishnavism after the death of Ramanuja.—5. Bukkaraya I settles the differences between Jainas and Vaishnavas. Jain influence at the court of Vijayanagara.—6. Conversion of Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism. Religious conduct of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya.—7. Relations of Sadasiva Raya with Vaishnavism.—8. Devotion of Rama Raya and his ancestors to Vishnu.—9. Tirumala and Ranga I patrons of Vaishnavism.—10. Venkata II the greatest Vaishnava Emperor of Vijayanagara.—11. Vaishnavism professed by feudatory chiefs. Conversion of the royal house of Mysore.—12. Several manifestions of Saivism.—13. Influence of the Jains in Kanara.—14. Eclectic and tolerent religious character of Venkata and of some of his chiefs.—15. Religious controversies between Saivas and Vaishnavas.—16. Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji restores the temple of Govinda Raja at Chidambarm. Suicide of the Saiva priests.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jain inscriptions in Mysore.—3. *Bhashyakara Charitra, Venkatesvara Mahatmya, Kulotunga Cholan Ula, Tiru Narayana Puram, Prapannamrtam, Varadambika Parinayam.*—4. Jesuit Letters.—5. Du Jarric —6. Della Valle.

THE supreme god worshipped in India for a time during the pre-Buddhist period seems to have been Brahma. Even the Buddhistic scriptures give Brahma preference over the other deities of the Hindu Parnassus [1]. But later on another god, Siva, unexpectedly usurped his place of supremacy. The Saiva system seems to have been introduced in the peninsula from

1. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 3. Hence the presiding deity of the pre-Buddhistic Hindu temple is Brahma. Cf. Praphullachandra Basu, *Art in Hindu Temple, The Holkar College Magazine*, XI, 22.

abroad. According to a legend, the first place in which it was practised was Benares. This was due to the efforts of King Divodasa [1]. Siva's cult was later on fostered through the preaching of Sankaracharya. Nevertheless the superiority of Śiva was not to remain long undisputed. A new rival arose in the person of the god Vishnu. Vaishnavism was propagated early during the Scythian and Gupta periods [2] and finally with unusual vigour in the IIth century. The struggle that naturally ensued between the two deities and their respective adherents during this first peroid of the Aravidu dynasty will be the subject of this chapter. But we shall begin with a brief account of the Vaishnava movement, in order to make clear the position and the activity of the Aravidu Emperors in this religious conflict.

2. The founder and propagator of Sri Vaishnavism in the later period was Ramanujacharya [3]. According to tradition, he was born in Sri Permattur, near Madras [4], in 1016-7 [5], and studied at Kanchivaram. Thence he retired to Srirangam where he perfected his system and wrote his religious works [6].

1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, II, p. III-IV. This author maintains that this system had its origin in Egypt; according to him Siva's bull is nothing but a replica of the bull Apis of the ancient Pharaohs. The worship of the bull passed afterwards from Egypt to Palestine, in the time of the great national schism of Jeroboam (1000 B. C.); from Palestine it migrated to Mesopotamia and finally found its way to Benares in 700 or 800.

2. Rayachaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 98-177.

3. Nevertheless in the works of Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram), executed by Pallava Princes, there are "mixtures of emblems, weapons and figures belonging to both the Saiva and Vaishnava phases of Hindu Faith". Cf. Branfill, *Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas, The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1880, p. 126.

4. Perhaps, on account of this, the Sri Permattur temple is traditionally supposed to be the first Vaishnava temple in Southern India. Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. LXVI.

5. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 51.

6. According to the account of the aiyangars, the fact that marked the starting point of the religious career of the new teacher is narrated as follows: "One day, it is said, the

His chief work is his commentary on the *Bhagvat Gita*, entitled *Gita Bhasyam* [1]. The *Upanishada Vacya Vivaram*, by Sri Ranga Ramanuja, if it is not written by the same teacher, is an exposition of the same system. "The system of Ramanuja is shown to be consistent with the Vedas and their supplements. This book opposes the *advaita* notion of the non-reality of the visible world; it maintains that it is real" [2]. On account of his subtle doctrine and his holy life, Ramanuja was called later on in a decree of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, 'the king of the kings of ascetics' [3]. He is also termed Bhashyakara, from his explanations of the Vedas [4].

During his stay at Srirangam he made many disciples. One of the most prominent of them was Tiruvarangattamudanar, the hereditary trustee of the Ranganatha temple [5]. But Ramanuja could not live there long. The Chola ruler Karikala, probably the younger brother of Rejendra and father of Kalottunga, who was then Viceroy at Uraiyur [6], himself a

Sankaracharya wanted to take an oil bath. The pupils used to serve their master in turn, and that day it was Ramanuja's. He was rubbing the oil over the bald head of the Sankaracharya, and another student was taking lessons by his side. A stanza was read in which the face of Vishnu was represented to be as red as the lotus. The Sankaracharya at once exclaimed that it was a *luptopama*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness, which might have been used for the simile. As an example, he indicated the buttocks of the monkey. Ramanuja, who was a firm believer in Vishnu, cried out. Tears from his eyes dropped on the thighs of the Sankaracharya, and pierced them like molten lead. At once he ordered Ramanujacharya to leave the *matha*, and he accordingly went. And now being a hater of Siva and a special worshipper of Vishnu he started the new religion". Natesa Sastri, *The Origin of the Srivaishnavas*, *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 252. The author explodes this legend.

1. Taylor, *Catologue Raisonnee*, II, p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 216.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, II, No. 344.
4. *Bhashyakara Cheritra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 214.
5. See Gopinatha Rao, *Srirangam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 85.
6. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 332-3.

staunch Saiva, could not tolerate any longer the spreading of the new sect. According to the Sri Vaishnava chronicles, "it was pointed out to this King that converting the common people by force was not in itself capable of augmenting the numbers to the Saiva faith; and if such a great leader as Ramanuja were to be made to subscribe to the Saiva faith, his followers would join that sect in a body. Ramanuja was summonded before the King; Kurattalvan (Ramanuja's first disciple), apprehending danger to his master, assumed the garb of a *sannyasi*, proceeded to the royal court and represented himself as the famous Vaishnava Acharya. The King then compelled him to sign a declaration that no god was superior to Siva. Kurattalvan boldly contradicted him by telling him that 'larger than Siva was Drona (words which also mean two different measures, of which the latter was the bigger) thus playing upon the double meaning of the words Siva and Drona. The King, enraged at the behaviour of Kurattalvan, ordered both his eyes to be put out immediately, and the order was forthwith carried out. So throughout the remaining part of his life he lived a blind man" [1].

3. Ramanuja himself had to fly from the Chola kingdom, and took shelter in Chandragiri, the stronghold of the Yadava Kings, whose capital was at Narayanvaram. Toya Yadava was then the ruling sovereign. He charitably entertained the exiled *guru* and declared himself the patron of his disciples and his doctrine [2]. Under his patronage Ramanuja visited different holy places, and took from the Saivas several temples and shrines which he dedicated to the worship of different forms of Vishnu. He also founded the temple of Terunarayaria at Terunarayanapur. One of the temples that he took from the Saivas was the famous one at Tirupati [3]. The *Venkatesvara Mahatmya* narrates that, to effect this, Ramanuja agreed with

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 85.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 85.

3. *Bhashyakara Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 214-5. Naturally the Vaishnava literature claims that all these holy places had formerly been Vaishnava temples. Hence they say that Ramanuja recovered them from the Saivas.

the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in the temple at night a conch and a discus, which were the insignia of Vishnu, and beside them a trident and a small drum, which were the insignia of Siva. The temple was subsequently closed for the night; and on being re-opened next morning it was found that the image had assumed the conch and the discus. Since then Tirupati has been one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in the whole of India [1].

From there Ramanuja proceeded to Mysore. It seems that the prevailing religious faith in the old Karnataka country was Jainism. According to an inscription on the summit of Indragiri at Sravana-Belgola, the Jains came to Mysore in an immigration from Ujjayini (Ujjain), under the leader Bhadra Bahu, in order to escape a dreaful famine [2]. The colossal monolithic statue of the Jain Saint Bhujabalin, that crowns the rocky hill, is a dumb witness to the preaching of Ramanuja; for it was erected between 977 and 984 A. D. by Chamundaraja, the minister of the two Ganga Kings, Narasimha II and Rachamalla II [3]. Many conversions were also effected

1. Wilson, o. c., p. 254. Cf. Ch. XV, No. 9. The conversion of Tirupati from a Saiva to a Vaishnava temple by Ramanuja has lately aroused much controversy. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 215-8. The Vaishnava chronicles are not impartial authorities. We really believe that the fact took place, through a fraud most probably, though formerly only Siva had been worshipped there. Naturally Ramanuja declared that he had re-started the previous cult given there to Vishnu, in order to give solid ground to his desire of establishing the Vaishnava religion there. An enormous amount of literature has been written on Tirupati. See, for instance, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 254-5, 349; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 587, 588, 589, etc.

2. *Ind Ant.*, III, p. 153-4 The inscription may also be seen in *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 27-8. Jain tradition avers that the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, after resigning his crown, was one of those who accompanied Bhadra Bahu to the South. Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 154; Tabard, *Sravana-Belgola*, *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 12; F. Deaville Walker, *Ancient Jain Shrines, Wonders of the Past*, III, p. 1034.

3. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions on the Three Jaina Colossi*, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 108. Tabard, o. c. p. 12-31. The statue is 57 feet high. Chamundaraja was not the founder of the present Jain religious settlement, as Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 461, says.

by his exhortations and disputes in the Karnataka country. One of the converts seems to have been King Vitthala Deva (1104-1141) [1]. The *Sri Rangha Mahatmya*, that seems to refer to this period, states that Ramanuja "with his disciples visited the 108 Tripetis (Tirupatis or temples to Tirumal), and disputed with opponents. He taught the Vaishnava creed with great success, visited many places, and at length returned to Seringapatam".

Ramanuja returned from Mysore on the death of Kulottunga I, which seems to have occurred in 1118 [2]. The *Kulotunga Cholan Ula* relates that, during Ramanuja's second stay in the Chola country, Kulottunga II (1123-1146), 'a hater of the god Vishnu', removed the Govinda Raja temple at Chidambaram from the premises of the great Siva temple, and ordered the statue of Vishnu to be thrown into the ocean, 'his original shrine'. Then Ramanuja and his disciples either brought back the same idol or made a new one, and enshrined it in a new temple at Tirupati, with a formal and solemn consecration ceremony [4].

4. After the death of the reformer, his disciples continued his work. Besides the above mentioned Kurattalvan, the one who worked most for this cause was perhaps the famous Sri Vedanta Desika [5]. The *Tiru Narayana Puram* mentions a Vaishnava Aluvar, named Yempramanar, who also made many conversions to his sect in the kingdom of Mysore [6].

Things however were not going too well. Soon after the death of Ramanuja, there arose a schism in his sect. Were the Sanskirit or the vernacular works to be the chief object of study for the Sri Vaishnavas? This question naturally gave origin to

1. Bhandarkar, o. c., p. 52.
2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 589.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 219.
4. Cf. Brahma Sri R. Raghava Aiyangar, *Chelli Kulotungal Anapayan, Sen Tamil* VIII, p. 301-2; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 299.
5. Cf. Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri Vedanta Desika*, *B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 277-312.
6. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 510-1.

two different schools. For some time the Sanskrit school prevailed, during which period Vaishnavism was almost restricted to erudite people. But finally the vernacular school came out victorious in the contest. Those were the palmy days of Sri Vaishnavism, when its doctrines were easily spread among all classes of people [1].

5. Naturally the propagation of the new creed was the cause of differences between its adherents and the members of other religious denominations. One of these religious disputes, apparently in Mysore, was appeased by Bukka Raya I of Vijayanagara in 1368. "Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (Vaishnavas)", says the royal decree, "the blessed people (the Jainas) having made petition to Bukka Raya about the justice done by the Bhaktas, the King taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri Vaishnavas (here 48 representatives of the Sri Vaishnavas are mentioned, who come from different places, even from Tirupati, Kanchivaram and Srirangam), and declaring at the same time that there was no difference between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, decreed as follows:—

'This Jaina *darsana* is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* (or vase). If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina *darsana* through the bhaktas, the Vishnavas will kindly deem it as loss of advancement caused to their (own *darsana*). The Sri Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sasana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina *darsana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one: they must not be viewed as different. Tatayya of Tirumula (Tirupati) by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one anna a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the bodyguard to be appointed by Vaishnavas at the holy place Belugula (Sravana-Belgola), appoint twenty ser-

1. Cf. Rangacharl, *The Successors of Ramanuja, B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 136-8.

vants as bodyguard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinalayas (the Jaina temples) white-washed. In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, will they without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit. He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the kings, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudaya*. If an ascetic or chief of a village destroys this charity, he shall incur the sin of having slaughtered a tawny cow and a Brahman on the banks of the Ganges" [1].

In this document preference seems to be given to the Jainas, although Bukka was not a Jain himself. It shows, however, how the King was influenced by Jainism. We know indeed from other lithic records that one of the ministers of Bukka was a fervent Jain: his name was Baichappa. He is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola [2]. According to an inscription of 1385 in Vijayanagara itself the same Baichappa and his son Irugappa, himself a Jain also, were ministers of Bukka's successor, Harihara II [3]. Another inscription of 1387-8, in a Jain temple near Kanchivaram, records some donations of this Irugappa, mentioned as son of Vaichaya (Tamil form for Baichappa), General of Vijayanagara and follower of the Jain religion [4]. Irugappa's two sons, named Baichappa and Irugappa, are also mentioned in another inscription of 1422, at Sravana-Belgola, as Jain Generals of Vijayanagara [5] during the reign of Vira Vijaya. His successor, Deva Raya II, was also much inclined to Jainism, as is shown in an inscription of this King, of the year 1426, in Vijayanagara itself [6]. Probably there was built during this period the Jain temple, the ruins of which, on the slopes of the rockey hill that protects the Pampapathi temple of Hampi, are one of the most interesting features of the glorious capital.

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ma, 18. Cf. Ibid., II, No. 344.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, II, SB, 253. Cf. Luders, *Sravana-Belgola Inscription of Irugapa*, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 17.
3. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 161.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 115-6.
5. Ibid., VIII, p. 22.
6. Hultzsch, o. c., p. 162.

6. In spite of this Jain influence, the Vijayynagara sovereigns remained faithful to the cult of Siva till they became disciples of Sri Vaishnavism towards the close of the 15th century.

Their family god was then Virupaksha, the name under which Siva was worshiped in the celebrated temple of their capital. But at that time it happened that two brothers from Ettur, named Nrsimhacharya and Srirangacharya arrived at Vijayanagara. They were learned Vaishnava gurus, and easily persuaded Virupaksha, the then Emperor of the great Hindu Empire, that there was no other god higher than Vishnu [1]. Accordingly the sovereign foreswore Saivism and became a

1. The *Prapannamrtam*, which affords this information, gives the following legendary account of Virupaksha's conversion to Sri Vaishnavism: "Nrsimhacharya and his younger brother, as they entered the city during night, mistook this haunted palace for the King's residence and entered it, Ramayana in hand. At their approach the ghosts remained quiet; and they were admitted into the palace. Entering the palace they found the ghosts holding court with king, council and attendants. On their approach all the ghosts bowed to them and showed them the respect due to scholarship; and the ghost-minister inquired who they were, and for what purpose they had come there. They narrated their whole story, on which the king directed them to come secretly every night and read to them the Ramayana; for which he promised to pay them at the rate of one *nishka* every day. This they did for some time. When they came to the end of the Ramayana, Nrsimhacharya and the brother directed them to make due preparation for the celebration of the coronation of Rama, as is usually the practice even now. On the day of the reading of the coronation portion of the Ramayana, the brothers were presented with many thousands of gold coins and precious stones. After the reading was over, the ghosts narrated to the brothers their story as follows: 'We are all related to Virupaksha, the present sovereign of the country, and have been foully murdered by him in our sleep. This horrible death has forced us to haunt the palace. It was on our account that Virupaksha left this palace and built another, seeking to get rid of us by vows and charities. But all that was of no avail. You two holy people by coming here every night and reading to us the Ramayana have ridded us of our sins, and we now go to the heaven of Santanika'. They took

fervent Vaishnava. On this occasion the majority of his subjects also became followers of Vaishnavism [1].

Virupaksha's successors were also faithful devotees of Vishnu, without however excluding the devotion to Siva, the old protector god of the Empire. Krishna Deva Raya worshipped Vishnu, Siva and also Vithoba (an incarnation of Vishnu known only in Maharashtra) to whom he erected a temple in Vijayanagara [2]. Achyuta Raya made in 1534 a gift of land with a house in the presence of Vitthalesvara and on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, to each of the two Vaishnava Brahmans who recited a *puranam* in the same temple [3]. Then the same sovereign is said to have had a son by the favour of the god of Tirupati; hence the child is called Venkatadri [4]. But the greatest achievement of Achyuta so far as the propagation of Vaishnavism is concerned, was

leave of the two brothers thus, and went to heaven. The palace became rid of the ghosts and the whole neighbourhood, to its great relief, was rid of the nightly disturbance. They reported the matter to Virupaksha, and Virupaksha, on learning after inquiry what had taken place, summoned the two brothers before him. He inquired who they were and why had gone to the haunted palace. They told him that they belonged to the village Ettur, and were the descendants of the famous Srisailapurna whom the god Venkatesvara called 'grand father', and who explained the Ramayana in twenty-four different ways to Ramanuja. They then gave a full account of their going to the haunted palace and of what had transpired there. On hearing the whole story, King Virupaksha felt great reverence for the Ramayana, the god Rama and the preceptor Nrsimha. The King was soon admitted into the Vaishnava faith by him, for before that time he was a Vira Saiva". S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 71-3.

1. *Prapannamrtam*, l.c., p. 73. The poem says that all the subjects of Virupaksha became Vaishnavas. This is evidently a poetical exaggeration.

2. Cf. Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 222.

3. 240 of 1910.

4. *Varadambika-Parinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 178. Cf. Ch. I, No. 2.

the foundation of the Nayakship of Madura. The Pandyas of those days had remained faithful Saivas, as the Tenkasi inscriptions of Arikesari Parakrama Pandya prove [1]. The Telugu chiefs sent from Vijayanagara to the South were almost always Vaishnavas. The final settlement of Vishvanatha and his successors as rulers of the Pandya kingdom naturally marked the commencement of a flourishing period of Vaishnavism in the southern dominions.

7. Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family, was also a fervent worshipper of Vishnu. In 1556, he granted 31 villages to the great sage, Ramanuja, *i. e.*, to the sect founded by him—as Dr. Kielhorn understands—to enable the devotees to carry on the regular worship of Vishnu with incense, lights, oblations of food, flowers, dancing, singing, music, etc. [2]. In 1568, at the requsst of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted the villages of Krishnapuram to the temple of Tiruvenkatanatha, at the same place, to keep up the cult of the god Vishnu "who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvenkatanatha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris* on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year for the floating festival during the hot season and for the *yatrotsava* [3]. For Sadasiva, to die is 'to attain the Vishnava seat', as may be seen in a grant of his of the year 1558 [4]. In his inscriptions several Vaishnava teachers are mentioned on different occasions: Vallabhacharya, whose eloquent panegyrics as a Vaishnave *guru* are described in an inscription of 1544 at Govada, Guntur [5]; the *sannyasi* Emberumanaru Jiyyangaru, mentioned in another inscription of 1559 at Markapur, Karnul [6]; and finally Parankusa Van-Sathagopa

1. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 93 and 98.
2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 5-10.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 67-69.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 841, 885.
6. 158 of 1905.

Jiyyangaru, spoken of in three inscriptions of Lower Ahobalam, Karnul, of 1555 [1], 1560 [2] and 1564 [3]. Another inscription at the same place, of the year 1567, mentions a gift from a chief, consisting of some offerings to be distributed among twelve Sri Vaishnava mendicants [4].

Nevertheless, Sadasiva was not so staunch a devotee of Vishnu as to despise the other gods or to force people to join his own sect. He sometimes invokes Siva, Vishnu and Ganesa in the beginning of his grants [5]. Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, his feudatory, built a temple to Siva in his new city of Krishnapuram [6]. The most characteristic feature of this tolerance is the fact that the Yelahanka Prabhu, Kempe Gowda I, on returning to his dominions from his captivity at Anegundi, adopted the worship of Siva, instead of the cult of Bhire Devar, his family god. He thought, in changing his devotion, that it made no difference, as Bhire Devar was the son of Siva; his offerings and prayers however remained in the same family. His broad and tolerant spirit is moreover shown in the fact that he built a temple to Vishnu at Bangalore [7].

8. Sadasiva's Regent, Rama Raya, was a no less fervent worshipper of Vishnu than his master. The Aravidu family appears to have worshipped Vishnu from ancient times. The names of the majority of its chiefs are names of Vishnu or of his *avatars*. Moreover several of those chiefs are mentioned as staunch Vaishnavas: such are Rajanarendra, called 'a devotee of Vishnu'; Vira Hemmaliraya, stated to be 'a devotee of Murari (Vishnu)', and Ramaraja (the grand father of the founders of the Aravidu dynasty) who 'was poisoned by his

1. 65 of 1915.
2. 75 of 1915.
3. 73 of 1915.
4. 69 of 1915.
5. See for instance British Museum Plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 12.
6. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 83. Cf. Ch, XIII, No. 2.
7. Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 798. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 21.

relatives, but by the grace of Vishnu, whose devotee he was, suffered no harm "[1].

The most important act of Rama Raya in connection with Sri Vaishnavism is the restoration of the idol of Govindaraja to the temple of Chidambaram. The *Prapannamrtam*, relates that there was at that time a Vaishnava scholar named Mahacharya who lived in the sacred town of Ghatikachala (Sholighur). He had defeated all the Saiva scholars of Chitrakuta (Chidambaram) among whom was the celebrated Appaya Dikshita. After this victory he grew desirous of re-establishing the worship of Govindaraja in the temple of Chidambaram, abolished since the time of the Chola King, Krimikantha (Kulottunga II)[2]. Rama Raya seems to have been then at Chandragiri with his teacher Tatacharya. Mahacharya went there, and with the assistance of the Emperor and his *guru*, succeeded in restoring Govindaraja's idol to its old place at Chidambaram[3].

It has been said by modern Saivas that the tremendous defeat of Raksas-Tagdi was the punishment inflicted by Virupaksha on the house of Vijayanagara for going over from his cult to the cult of Vishnu. We already find this idea in an old work of the Mackenzie Collection entitled *Jangama Kalajnyana* in which the defeat and death of Rama Raya are given in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son Virupana, staunch devotees of Siva[4].

9. The immediate successors of Rama Raya, however, did not abjure the cult of Vishnu. On the other hand, it seems their devotion even increased. Tirumala is called in his Penuguluru grant 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)'[5]. According to the colophon of his supposed commentary on the

1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv, 5-6 and 9-12.

2. Cf. above No. 3.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 330.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 272.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

Gita Govinda his favourite deity was Rama [1]. In 1568 he made two grants to a Vaishnava temple at Khairuwalla, Karnul [2]. In the same year he made another grant to another Vaishnava temple in the village of Gundala [3]. The so-called '*three Swami pagoda*', introduced by Tirumala, displays three figures, the central one standing, and the other two seated; they are said to be either Lakshmana with Rama and Sita, or Venkatesvara with his two wives [4]. In either case this coin proves Tirumala's Vaishnava devotion. With Tirumala also a new Vaishnava feature appears in the royal grants. Till the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the grants of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, even after their converson to Sri Vaishnavism, were as a general rule made in the presence of Virupaksha; but after the establishment of Tirumala at Penukonda, his grants were made in the presence of Ramachandra in the temple of its fort [5].

His devotion to Vishnu, nevertheless, was not that of a fanatic who despises all other deities. His grants after the usual 'prostration to the blessed Ganadhipati' start with an invocation to Siva, Vishnu and Ganapati [6]. One *vritti* of the Penuguluru grant was by his order given to the local shrines of Vishnu and Hara (Siva) [7]. Tirumala moreover, in an inscription of 1571, mentions the Saiva teacher, Anantasivacharya, his pupil Ponnambala Dharmasivacharya, and the latter's pupil Immadi Dharmasivacharya [8]. Another Saiva teacher is mentioned in another of Tirumala's inscriptions dated 1577; this *guru* is named Santabhiksha *vritti* Ayyavaru, and seems to have been a man of great influence in Karnul [9].

During Tirumala's reign we hear of two Vaishnava temples

1. Ibid.
2. Sewell, I, p. 93.
3. Rangacharya, III, p. 909, 10.
4. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
5. See for instance the Penuguluru grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, vv. 44-62.
6. See the same grant, Ibid., p. 254, vv. 1-3.
7. Ibid., p. 245.
8. 497 of 1905.
9. 43 of 1915.

which were improved through the munificence of the devotees. One was the temple of Bhaktapala Venugopala Krishna at Holalakere, which had passed through different vicisssitudes referred to in the inscription. The idol had been set up by one Janamejaya; but, owing perhaps to difficult circumstances, the god was buried in the earth by a certain Vishnuvardha Raya, till it was restored to its old shrine by Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya, it seems, enlarged or beautified the temple, which after the wars with the Muhammadans was dilapidated and ruined. Then in 1568 Kamageti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka set up the ruined god, and repaired the temple with the aid of the Brahmans of the place [1]. Some years later Sri Van Sathagopa Swami established the idols of the Vaishnava *Alvars* at the temple of Purushtamam (Jaganath) [2].

Ranga I followed the example of his father in his devotion to Vishnu. He is said in the Maredapalli grant 'to have borne in his heart Sarngadhara, i. e., his god Vishnu' [3]; and in the Arivilimangalam plates he is called 'worshipper of Vishnu' [4]. Nevertheless Ranga, as much of an eclectic as Tirumala, invoked Siva, Vishnu and Ganesha at the beginning of his grants [5]. During his time the Hande chiefs of Anantapur, who were bigoted Saivites, co-operated with Ibrahim Shah of Golkonda in the sack of the temple of Ahobalam [6].

10. Ranga's successor, Venkata II, was the great Vaishnava Emperor of the dynasty. His fervent devotion to Vishnu was the cause of a great change introduced in the grants issued by him. During the third dynasty, and even during the reigns of Tirumala and Ranga of the Aravidu family, the Emperors had commenced the practice of invoking Vishnu together with Siva at the beginning of their grants,

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ht, 7.
2. Ahobalam inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v. 35.
4. Ibid., XII, p. 357, v. 20.
5. See for instance the Maredapalli grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 327, vv. 1-3, and the Arivilimangalam plates, Ibid., XII, p. 356, vv. 1-3.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233-4.

but still they used to sign the same grants with the solitary word 'Sri Virupaksha', the name of the guardian god of the old Empire. "The Vijayanagara throne", says Mr. Krishnamacharlu in this connection, "was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virupaksha" [1]. According to the *Prapannamrtam* the Emperor Virupaksha after his conversion "gave up the use of the old seal with the sign manual Virupaksha on it, and adopted a new one on which was inscribed the name 'Sri Rama'" [2]. But his successors had resumed the old seal of Virupaksha. Venkata II broke this tradition for ever: Virupaksha was no longer the protector of the Empire; Vishnu had taken his place. Accordingly all the grants of Venkata bear the following signature: 'Sri Venkatesa' [3], one of the forms of Vishnu worshipped at Tirupati. The very beginning of his grants, moreover, shows more signs of the Vaishnava faith than the former grants. The Padmaneri grant, for instance, starts with an invocation to Venkatesa, the feet of Rama Vishvaksena and the Moon [4]. In the Vellangudi plates the invocation is addressed to Rama's feet, Vishvakṣena and Vishnu [5]. The beginning of the Mangalampad grant is as follows: "I seek refuge in that pair of substances (Rama's feet), by virtue of whose touch a stone became the gem of women and which is deserving of worship by the gods" [6]. Besides, almost all his grants are made in the presence of Venkatesa at Tirupati.

We have still several other instances of Venkata's devotion

1. Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House, Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 221.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 73. We have not seen any grant of Virupaksha with the colophon mentioning *Sri Rama*. His ordinary signature was, it seems, *Sri Harihara*. Cf. his Alampundi plate, *Ep. Ind.*, III p. 229, and Sornikavur plates, Ibid., VIII, p. 305.

3. See for instance the Vellangudi plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 329, and the Pandmaneri grant, Ibid., p. 297, v. 159.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 296.

5. Ibid., p. 318.

6. Butterworth, I, p. 26, v. 1.

to Vishnu. In 1590 he made a grant to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of one Krishna Das [1]. In 1597, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted two villages in the Madura district to several Vaishnava Brahmans [2]. On another occasion the King made arrangements for celebrating a festival in the temple of Alagiyarama Perumal [3]. Venkata's gold coin, called *Venkatapati pagoda*, shows on the obverse Vishnu standing under an arch, while the reverse bears this Nagari legend: *Sri Venkatesvaraya Namah*, adoration to the blessed Venkatesvara [4]. Another coin of Venkata shows the figure of Hanuman advancing to the right, with the same legend on the reverse [5].

11. Vaishnavism was also openly professed outside the royal palace. Venkata's nephew Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy, starts one of his decrees with the suggestive words: 'Obeisance to Ramanuja' [6]. The poet Matla Ananta in the prologue of his works invokes the blessings of the god of Tirupati, and in the colophon to the same work calls himself disciple of the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tolappa Acharya In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big *gopura* of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, and of two fly-whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it, was made by some merchants of Aravidu [8].

But the most interesting event in connection with the propagation of Vaishnavism, is the conversion to this sect of the royal house of Mysore. We do not know for certain when this conversion took place; we are only aware that the early Rajas

1. Ranghacharya, III, p. 1497, 457.
2. Ibid., II, p. 1002, 91.
3. 385 of 1905.
4. Hultzsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308. Cf. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
5. Rangachari, *Some Inedite Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 26.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.
7. Cf. Krishnamacharlu, *The Pemgulury Grant Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 240.
8. 67 of 1915.

of Mysore were devotees of Siva, and that shortly after this period they appear as worshippers of Vishnu [1]. "But many circumstances afford room to conjecture", says Wilks, "that it was about this time (after Raja Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam) that they adopted the insignia and ceremonies of the sect of Vishnu" [2].

12. The whole Empire however was not Vaishnava. Several feudatory chiefs still adhered to their old family sect. One instance is that of the Nayaks of Vellore, who with their families remained faithful to Siva. Lingama Nayaka, the last known member of this dynasty, is said in the Vilapaka grant of Venkata II to 'be engaged in establishing lingas of Siva'; 'his prize', says the same grant, "was the works relating to Siva' [3]. Another family very faithful to Siva was that of the Nayaks of Ikeri. Among their titles there are two that refer to their devotion: they are called 'establishers of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine' and 'devoted to the faith in Siva and the *guru*' [4]. In their zeal they seem to have converted many of the Jains to the Saiva creed [5]. We know likewise of a grant of 1592 for the services of a *matha*, issued by Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka, son of Sadasiva Nayaka II and grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayaka; the grantor is called in the grant 'feudatory of Venkatapatiraya, devoted to Siva and *gurus*' [6]. The chiefs of Ullal were likewise devotees of Siva; Pietro della Valle says that the family god of the Queen he met during his travels was Putia Somnata [7].

There exist moreover several other grants of petty chiefs announcing their liberality to the temples and to the mendi-

1. Cf. Thompson, *Religion in the Mysore State, Q. J. M. S.*, I, p. 135.
2. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 43. Cf. Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p. 10; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 364.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
4. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 157.
5. Cf. Burnell, *On the Colossal Jain Statue at Karkala, Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 353; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 62.
6. *M.A.D.*, *1923*, p. 106-7.
7. Della Valle, II, p. 341.

cants of Sivà. In 1612 Nanja Raja Odeyar made some offerings to Siva [1]. In 1593 Immadi Rama Raja Nayaka, son of the chief of Hadinand-sima, Devappa Gowda, made also a grant to Siva, recorded in a stone charter he gave to Channa Basavaraja Deva, disciple of Sivaratreya Deva [2]. In 1588 Vaiyappa Krishnappa Nayaka ordered 30 rice offerings to be distributed among Saiva mendicants [3].

13. Furthermore the Jains were still powerful in the Kanarese Viceroyalty. The gigantic statue of the Jain Saint, Bhujabalin, set up at Enura (Venur) in 1603-4 is a clear proof of this. It was erected by the chief Timmaraya of the family of Chamunda, the younger brother of Pandya, son of Queen Pandyaka and nephew and son-in-law of Rayakuvara. He is said to have made the image at the request of the Jain priest Charukirti, who was the pontiff of Belgula (Sravana-Belgola). On the opposite side of the colossus there is another inscription, according to which Timmaraya belonged to the lunar race and was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike [4].

There are still other instances of the widespread influence of the Jains in the Kanarese country during the reign of Venkata II. In 1591 a Kanarese Prince named Kinniga Bhupala made a grant for the purpose of maintaining a Jain temple [5]. In 1586 the Karkala chief Bhairava II built a Jain temple on the Chikkabetta hill at Karkala, set up the images of the three Tirthankaras, Ara, Malli, and Munisuvrata on each of the four faces of the temple, and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthankaras and those of the Jains together with those of Brahma and Padmavati. This temple, built at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakirti, was called the temple ' of the three jewels ' [6]. Its *chaturmukhabasti* indeed shows down to this day three nude statues of the

1. Ibid., 30.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 135.
3. 339 of 1913.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 113-4. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 37.
5. Sewell, II, p. 14.
6. Karkala inscription of Bhairava II, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 134-5.

Tirthankaras strongly resembling each other, carved in black stone, and surrounded by many other idols also naked.

14. This variety of sects within the limits of the Empire shows the eclectic character of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, so inconsistent with the exclusive spirit of orthodox Vaishnavism [1]. The two most prominent representatives of this characteristic eclecticism of the Vijayanagara House are Krishna Deva Raya and Venkata II. The latter was really a fervent dovotee of Vishnu, but he also favoured the cult of Siva when occasion arose. In 1588, for instance, he gave 20 offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Bhisesvara temple at Chidambaram [2]. Similarly there is a plate of his of the year 1596 proceeding from Cuddalore, bearing a large number of mythological figures of both the Saiva and Vaishnava sects; such are for instance Ganesa, the lingam, Hanuman, Narasimha, etc. [3].

The most striking specimen of this eclecticism is given in an edict issued some years before the accession of Venkata in 1561, by Krishnappa Nayaka, the feudatory chief of the North Kanara, when speaking of some differences between Saivas and Vaishnavas. It runs as follows: "Obeisance to Ganadhipati. May it be fortunate. Praise of Sambhu. There being some who say that besides Hari (Vishnu) there is no god in the world and some who say that besides Hara (siva) there is no god in the world; to remove those doubts of mankind, they assumed with affection in Kudalur the glorious double form of Harihara: may he protect us.

"Be it so. To the chief lord of all worlds, the chief god and supreme lord of the gods, destroyer of the contradictory statements of Saivas, Vaishnavas and others, the bestower of a boon on Markkandeya, the single incarnation of Hari and Hara, tearer asunder of the pride of Guhasura, his two lotus feet placed on the chest of Guhasura, worshipped by the three worlds of heaven, earth and hell, bestower of their desires on the faithful, granting the gift of being without fear to the

1. Cf. Raychauduri, o. c., p. 116.
2. 349 of 1913.
3. Sewell, II, p. 9.; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

dwellers in the auspicious forest Guharanya, residing on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra, boon-lord of Manigapura, the god Harihara" [1].

15. In spite of this eclecticism and toleration, we cannot doubt but that the reign of Venkata II marked a period of proselytism towards the spreading of Vaishnavism. The *Prapannamrtam* tells us that, "when Venkata became a disciple of Tatacharya, a large number of the subjects became Vaishnavas" [2]. Tatacharya indeed was an ardent Vaishnava missionary, and under the patronage of Venkata contributed largely to the progress of his creed.

This proselytism produced warm disputes at the court itself of this sovereign among the Saiva and Vaishnava teachers. One of these controversies took place between Tatacharya and the court poet Appaya Dikshita. This scholar was a very fervent Saiva. He chanted four verses in honour of Siva wherever he went, and by his zeal and preaching reconverted many Vaishnavas to their former faith in Siva. In the religious disputation with Tatacharya, Appaya Dikshita was victorious. Hence the royal *guru* cherished a mortal hatred against him and even, they say, actually plotted to put an end to his rival's life [3].

Another of these religious controversies took place in Kumbhakonam between the Vaishnava philosopher Vijayindra Tirtha and a famous Vira Saiva *guru* of that *matha*. The condition under which it was held was that if the Saiva *guru* succeeded Vijayindra Tirtha would join his *matha*; but if the latter triumphed, the Saiva *guru* would make over his *matha* with all its belongings to his opponents. The discussion lasted eleven days, at the end of which term the Saiva *guru* declared himself vanquished. Consequently Vijayindra Tirtha entered into possession of the *matha* at Kumbhakonam [4].

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18. The edict evidently speaks of the temple at Harihara 'on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra'.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

3. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 326.

4. Gopinatha Rao, *Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 346.

Vijayindra Tirtha had also several discussions with Appaya Dikshita. When the latter wrote some works condemning the Madhva philosophy, Vijayindra Tirtha wrote several works against him refuting the Saiva arguments [1].

This antagonism between the two sects which existed in some quarters of the Empire and specially in the Tamil country, finds expression in a poem existing in the old library of Fort St. George. This work deals with the marriage of a Brahman's daughter with the god Ranganathaswami of Srirangam, but incidentally refers to the sectarian disputes between Saivas and Vaishnavas in the South of the Empire [2].

16. A notable instance of this struggle between the two sects is the lamentable event that took place at Chidambaram in the year 1597, while Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, himself a staunch Vaishnava, was there superintending the improvements which he had ordered at the temple of Govinda Raja within the great Saiva temple. Fr. N. Pimenta, who passed through Chidambaram at this time, narrates in one of his letters that on this occasion a great controversy arose as to "whether it were lawful to place the Signe of Perimal in the Temple at Cidambaran. Some refused, others by their Legats importunatly urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple". These last words of Pimenta indicate that, after the restoration of the idol to the temple by Rama Raya, it had again been removed and its shrine probably destroyed. In order to re-instal it with due honour, Krishnappa Nayaka ordered the old shrine to be repaired, and even perhaps enlarged.

This was the cause of the whole trouble. "The Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers", continues Pimenta, "(were) withstanding, and threatening if it were done, to cast down themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple, sware to doe the like after they buried the former, which yet after better advice they performed not". But Krishnappa Nayaka was unmoved by any such threat; the recon-

1. Ibid.
2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 646.

struction of the shrine was carried on without hesitation. Whereupon the priests, climbing one of the high *gopurams* of the temple, started to cast themselves down while the Nayak was in the temple. "About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure", says Pimenta; " whereat the Naichus angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them, the rest wandring in uncertaine places. A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that shee cut her owne throat ". Naturally Krishnappa Nayaka accomplished his purpose in spite of this opposition [1].

This brings us to a point in the history of Vaishnavism and Saivism, where we see the opposition between them at fever-heat. But the struggle between the two sects was practically over at the end of Venkata II's reign. Although the sect of Siva still counted many adherents, Vaishnavism had won the victory.

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 208-9. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 637; Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.

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APPENDIX A

THREE CANTOS OF A PERSIAN POEM IN PRAISE OF HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH OF AHMADNAGAR

(P. P. P.)

لشکر آراستن حسین شاه بغرم غزای کافر و روان شدن بجانب بیجانگر

۱ حسین شاه آن بادشاه دلیر ... که پیشش بود همچو روباه شیر

۲ سر سرفرازان و گردنکشان ... که بر وی کنند آفرین انس و جان

۳ خداوند شمشیر و تخت و کلاه ... چو تابنده خورشید با فر و جاه

۴ بآن حشمت و جاه و فرزانگی ... بآن هیبت و زور و مردانگی

۵ نبود و نیامد کسی در جهان ... چو اندازه فیروز با فر و شان

۶ چنان داشت شمشیر و بازوی زور ... کزو در جهان بود فریاد و شور

۷ بدل غیر از این آرزوئی نداشت ... جز این میل خاطر بسوئی نداشت

۸ که با کافران بیجانگر ... کند جنگ و کوتہ کند شور و شر

۹ که از دست آن کافر نابکار ... مسلمان بسی گشته بودند زار

۱۰ همی خواست دایم ز لطف خدا ... که او را میسر شود این غزا

۱۱ روان گشته القصه از بهر جنگ ... سوی ملک بیجانگر لید لنگ

۱۲ بیاراست لشکر بفرمان نبرد ... بداد سان که کس جمع لشکر نکرد

HUSAIN SHAH ORGANISES AN ARMY WITH THE INTENTION OF WAGING WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL, AND HIS MARCH TOWARDS BIJANAGAR

1 & 2. Husain Shah, that brave king, before whom the lion is like the fox, is the chief of the exalted and mighty men; because on him men and genii bestow 'Afareen's (*i.e.* Bravo!)

3. Lord of the sword, the throne, and the crown; as resplendent as the sun; with honour and diginity.

4 & 5. With his pomp and grandeur and wisdom, with his awfulness and strength and bravery, none existed and never came into this world. World-possessor and victorious; with honour and respect.

6. He had such a sword and such a powerful arm, that on account of him there was a tumult and uproar in the world.

7 & 8. In heart he cherished no other desire, and his inclinations were bent towards no other direction, but to fight against the infidel Rao of Bijanagar and subdue sedition and wickedness.

9. Because many Moslems had suffered oppression at the hands of the wicked infidel.

10. He always asked of the kindness of God only to make him successful in the battle.

11. In short, without delay, he marched towards the kingdom of Bijanagar in order to fight.

12. He arrayed his army with the intention of fighting, in a manner that none had mustered army.

جنگ کردن کیشاباراسراج کرد بادشاه بیجانگر رده فتح کردن

سگرگاه چون مرغ بگشاد بال . . تهی شد داغ بهر از زنهال ۱

بغول سیه بانگ برزد خروس . . درآمد بغریدن آواز کوس ۲

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زفعل ستوران پولاد میغ . . بجنبش درآمد زمین هم بمیغ ۵

زبس بعره کامد بروی از یکی . . نرواه فتاد آسمان بر زمین ۶

زشوریدن بانگ چون رستخیز . . بوحشی بیابان درآمد گریز ۷

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۳۰ بزخم سنان کافر اژدها . . . سرش بر زمین خورد افتاد تاج

۳۱ فرافتادن کافر از زخم تیز . . . تو گفتی برآمد یکی رستخیز

۳۲ بکیف اختیار چو آن شاه کرد . . . سرش را بریدند و پرتاه کرد

۳۳ ز بس کشته برگشته مردان مرد . . . شده راه کشته بریده نورد

۳۴ ز بس غارت آورد زان بارگاه . . . عنبست نلنجید در عرصه گاه

۳۵ چو گاه آن شاه گران گنج دید . . . چو دریا یکی دشت پر گنج دید

۳۶ شد از فتح فارغ تاراج گنج . . . خروشان و برآسوده از راه و رنج

۳۷ بعبرت در آن گشتگان نگریست . . . بخندید پیدا و پنهان گریست

۳۸ که چندین خلایق در این وادگیر . . . چرا کشت باید بشمشیر و تیر

۳۹ گنه گر بزادان نهم نارواست . . . وز او خود قضا بنم این هم قضاست

۴۰ فلک را سر انداختن بشدرشت . . . فشاید کشیدن سراز سر نوشت

۴۱ که داند که این خاک انگیخته . . . بچون چه دلها ست آمیخته

۴۲ بیا ساقی آذری مرا ست کن . . . چو می در دهی نقل در دست کن

۴۳ از آن می که در ابر آتش نهفت . . . بدزدیغ در شب طلسمش بکفت

۱۴ ... روان زنان تیر فولاد سای ... درانداز شیران فولاد خای

۱۵ ترنگ کمانهای بازو شکن ... بسی خلق را برده از خویشتن

۱۶ صف فرنده پیلان بیجا شکوه ... میان سپاه آمده کوه کوه

۱۷ شده چون سنان چشمها چون عقیق ... ز خرطوم تا دم در آبی غریق

۱۸ ز جبی فرنده پیلان بصف اندرون ... شد از پای پیلان زمین نیلگون

۱۹ فرو دوده لشکر گذشت از فلک ... بدان سان که کر گشت گوش ملک

۲۰ دلی کشته کافران بیشتر ... دل کفر زاسلام در لرزشتر

۲۱ حسین شاه آن پادشاه جهان ... کزو در هند بوده شیر ژیان

۲۲ بیاراست بازار نادیده را ... برانگیخت آب روان گرده را

۲۳ هایل سی تیغ هندی چو آب ... بگوهر تراز چشمهٔ آفتاب

۲۴ ز فولاد هندی کله بر سرش ... که گوهر بر آتش آمد از کوهرش

۲۵ نشسته بر بارگی کوه وش ... بخوشحالی و لندنی در روی نوش

۲۶ بشمشیر کین چون در آورد دست ... بیابان ز کافر شده آمد شکست

۲۷ دل از جای شد کافر شوم را ... چرا از کوه آفتین برم را

۲۸ حسین شاه را فتح شد بر نجوم ... چو فرخار نوابی در آمد ز روم

HUSAIN SHAH'S WAR AGAINST RAM RAJ, THE KING OF BIJANAGAR, AND HIS VICTORY

1. Early morning when the bird stretched its wings, the brain of the sphere (*i. e.* sky) became void of pictures (*i. e.* stars).
2. The cock shouted to the black demon (*i. e.* the night); the clamour of the drums began roaring.
3. When the infidel came to know that the army had approached, the world appeared dark to the eyes of the infidel.
4. He gathered an army (equipped) with arrow and sword. Its burning flash reached the clouds.
5. On account of the tramplings of the steel-shod animals, even the earth shook to its foundation.
6. On account of the excessive shouts that came from the ambush, the sky dropped down to the earth.
7. From the resurrection-like clamouring of noise, the beasts of the desert took to flight.
8. When their musical instrument was tuned for war, (or when their weapons were ready for battle) the devil ran away on account of their shouts.
9. Two clouds from two sides began clamouring; and two seas of fire came to ebullition.
10. From both the armies arose such a tumultuous noise that the horror of it made the brain of the devil mad.
11. When the armies stood facing each other, the hero came forward from both the sides.
12. The black cloud began to roar (the reference is to the army clad in iron). From the fish (in the sea) the flash of the sword reached the sky.
13. On account of the galloping which pressed the foot on the ground, the bones of the limbs of the

bullock got crushed. (The reference is to the belief that the earth stands on the back of the bullock that stands on the back of the fish which is in the sea).

14. The weapon-shattering arrow, coming and going successively, pierced through the limbs of steel-devouring lions (warriors).

15. The twangs of the arm-breaking bows made unconscious many a man.

16. The rows of bulky elephants as dreadful as war, entered the army like mountains.

17. Eye-lashes, like spear, eyes cornelian-like; from trunk to tail immersed in iron.

18. From the many rows of stout elephants, the earth became indigo coloured on account of their tramplings.

19. The clamour of the two armies passed through the sphere in such a way that the angel became deaf.

20. But the number of persons killed was greater on the side of the infidels; and the heart of Infidelity was more injured than Islam.

21 & 22. Husain Shah, that monarch of the world, whom the fierce lion feared, decorated the market of battle, (and) stirred the flowing water.

23. As a sword-belt, an Indian sword like water; in lustre greater than the fountain of the sun.

24. A helmet of Indian steel on his head, so lustrous that (even) jewel was envying it.

25. Seated on horseback, like a mountain; happy spiritual and cheerful.

26 When he caught hold of the sword of malice, there came about defeat in the market of the infidel.

27. The disgraceful infidel lost his heart as the heart of wax from the furnace.

28. Success became the guide of Husain Shah. The captives asked for refuge.

29. When the enemies were involved in comtempt, the brave infidels showed humility.

30. With the blow of the spear the head of the infidel Ram Raj fell to the ground, and (also) his crown.

31. On account of the falling of the infidel (struck) with a sharp below; you may say, appeared resurrection.

32. With a single sign that the king made, his head was cut and stuffed with straw.

33. From the slain over slain of valiant men, the road was blocked to the wayfarer.

34. On account of (the excessive) booty which they brought to the king; the wealth could not be lodged in the plain.

35. When the Shah saw that precious and weighty commodity, like the sea, (he saw) a desert full of treasure.

36. Because of the success over the infidels and the plunder of treasure, he became joyful, and remained at ease from travelling and distress.

37. For the sake of warning he glanced at those slain Apparently he laughed, (but) wept inwardly.

38. "Saying:—Why is it necessary to kill so many creatures in this strife with sword and arrow?

39. "If I attribute the fault to them, it is unlawful. If I regard the crime on my part, that also is a mistake.

40. "It is in the nature of the sphere to cast down head; it is not possible to draw the head from destiny.

41. "Who knows with what blood of heart this heap of dust is mixed."

42. "Oh cupbearer! intoxicate me with wine; (and) when you have given me wine, place in my hand sweets."

43. (Give me) "From that wine with which I may gladden my heart; (and) in hell make it a tale (preventive) against fire."

بازآمدن حسین شاه از غزای کافرو فتح نجانگر و بشهر احمدنگر و رحلت کردن

از دار الفنا بدار البقا

گذارنده داستان درسی . . چنین داد نظم گذارش گری	۱
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بهر کشب روان لشکر از هر کناه . . بچالان کردا . کس آنرا شمار	۱۲

HUSAIN SHAH'S RETURN FROM THE WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL AND THE CONQUEST OF BIJANAGAR TO AHMADNAGAR, AND HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE ABODE OF DESTRUCTION TO THE ABODE OF ETERNITY

1. The relater of the Ḍari (language) story so versified the narration:—
2. "When fortune became the mate of the king, he laughed like pomegranate-flower, and blossomed like the rose."
3. "He opened the door of treasure to those desirous of wealth. The soldiers became rich on account of money and jewels."
4. "With treasure he rendered rich the brave and valiant, (so much so) that the army was distressed by carrying wealth."
5. "He ordered the drums to be beaten, and they marched to their native place."
6. "They (officers) played, Proceed! Proceed! (March) one the golden flute, (and) fixed the pavilion on the back of the Pleiades."
7. "The king struck the drum and drove the army, and caused the top of his banner to reach the sky."
8. "Successful and victorious, he departed, having cut the head of the Rao of Bijanagar."
9. "(He marched) towards his own country and place of rest which was the capital—Ahmadnagar."
10. "Husain Shah, that victorious Shah, elevated his head to the higher sphere."
11. "He sat on his special horse, galloping on his dancing steed."
12. "The army from every quarter moved in cavalcade, to an extent that no one knows its number."

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

(*Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim*).

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 12th, 1591).

E assi me escreue (Manoel de Souza) que no Canará se fez a maior parte da pimenta que ueo nestas naos, e que entende que ao diante se fara cada vez maes que sera de muito effeito pera o auiamente da carga de cada anno, e que trabalhaua por ter contentes os Reis daquella costa por respeito da pimenta que dão de que a maior parte he das terras de São carnão botto o qual tratara auia poucos dias com o Idalxá pera lhe entreguar alguãs fortalezas suas o que não querião consentir os Reis uezinhos, e que seria Isto de muito dano asi pera a pimenta como pera as fortallezas que tenho naquella costa e que por esse respeito o mandara auisar per suas cartas que não tratasse de se sogeitar sendo liure e que posto que lhe não respondera hia temporisando com elle. E porque o comercio da pimenta daquella costa he de tanta Importancia como sabeis, e tella certa pera a cargua das naos volla encomendo muy encarecidamente. E sobre a materia de Sam Carnão botto que he de tanta consideração como se deixa bem entender pello discurso della vos encomendo tenhaes nella muita vigilançia e que em nenhu modo consintaes entreguarensse aquellas fortallezas ao Idalxá procurando de lho estrouar por todas vias que puder ser tendo nisso tal modo que com se fazer este effeito não se mouão nouos descontentamentos com o Idalxá.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 406.

II

N EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 12th, 1591)

Tambem me escreue o ditto g^{r} (Manoel de Souza) que pella entregua que o São carnão botto faz ao Idalxa de suas fortallezas fica a de Barcellor com maior sobroço por estar daneficada, e quasi de todo arruinada, pello que mandara Inuernar nella Joao de Valladares de Soutomayor com quarenta soldados e atenha mandadado uer por officiaes pera se repairar, posto que não detreminaua fazer muita obra nella por não estar em sittio pera isso. E porque assi como

não conuem fazerensse nouas fortallezas nesse estado he necessario acudirsse as que estão feitas, pello credito e reputação delle, e se preuenir o que poderia a contecer não estando deffensaueis vos encomendo q. com ésta de Barcellor tenhaes a contta que conuem e pede a vezinhanza que hora diz q. tem.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 408.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(*Lisbon, January 18th, 1595.*)

E tambem diz que El Rey de Canan(or) não he poderoso para impedir que não sayão olandeses de seus portos posto que entende que os consinte pella parte que tem das prezas que fazem, e que por esta causa e por dar pouca pimenta lhes pos por condição nos cartazes que lhes conçedeo q saindo alguns cassairos de seus portos lhe não ualherião e ficarião de preza os nauios que os leuassem, e que dom fernando de meneses Capitão daquella fortalleza trataua co Cunhi copra mouro principal naquelle Reino sobre da valgua pimenta o que tenho por de meu seruiço como sempre o sera todo o bom modo de se auer maes pimenta.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 408.

IV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(*Lisbon, February 18th, 1595.*)

E tiue contentamimto de mi dizerdes qui por achardis as fortallezas do canarà faltas de muniçoes e fracas as mandaris prouer e fortificar. E Vos encomindo qui assy o façais sempre com elas.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 532.

V

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(*Lisbon, February 8th, 1596.*)

Tambem me dis (Matias de Albuquerque) que mandou o Idalcão algus capitães seus sobre os Reis Esnores do Canará a instancia da Rainha de Baticalla, e que tomarão duas fort^{as} no Gatty se o allevantamento de hirmão do dito

Idacão o não obrigara aos mandar chamar no que o dito Visorrey fez o q' lhe pareçeo q' Cumpria a meu seruiço, e Vos encomendo que com a informaçao deste caso procedais tambem nelle como conuem, e assy no q' toca a morte Del Rey da Serra a que diz q' sucedeo hu jrmão.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol. 631.

VI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 2nd, 1596.)

Indo de algus anos a esta p^te^ em muita deminuçao a rendados d^ms^* dos cauallos que uem de Ormuz mandei dar licença peraque se pudisem trazer ao Canara, Cochim e outras p^tes^, e que sea demandasem os direitos.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol. 673.

VII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES DE SALDANHA

(Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604).

Do fruto que tiuerem feito osque residem com el Rey de Bisnagá spero q'me auiseis e folge(y) d' auerem sido bem agasalhades e respondidos de Vos os Embaixadores deste Rey como m(e es)creueis q' fizestes.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 9, Ano de 1604, fol 1.

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY MARTIM AFONSO DE CASTRO

(Lisbon, February 26th, 1605.)

Diz (Ayres de Saldanha) que os Christaos da costa da pescaria teueram o anno passado alguãs vexaçoes do Naique de Madure com tributos nouos. E dos cortisias que fez a hum religioso da companhia sobre que ficaua com algus Requerimentos nesa cidade Manoel da Cunha Paj dos Christas da costa da Pescaria, emcomendouos fauoreçaes

* "direytos," in another copy of the same letter, fol. 720.

a Christandade em tudo o que foi posiuel e procureis por todos os meos que o dito Naique cesse di fazer semelhantes extorcoes.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 6 (2a pte) 1, Ano de 1605 te 1607, fol. 19.

IX

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE KING OF CANANOR

(Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606.)

Copia da carta q uay nestas uias p el Rey de Cananor. Muito nobre Rey de Cananor eu Dom felippe ettz Vos faco saber que por carta do meu Viso Rey fuy informado que nessas partes andauão Roubando algus leuantados dos estados de flandes que sam sogeitos a minha coroa e indo ter ao porto de uossas terras offerecemdouos sua amisade e peurando uosso fauor e ajuda para poderem carregar suas naos não soo as não consentistes mas acodistes com gente a socorrer a minha fortalesa q'tudo he conforme a uossa nobreza e lealdade, nem fora comueny ente a ella dar entrada a Piratas e a leuantados da obediencia de seu Rey e snor natural, e nesta boa comRespondencia espero pcedais sempre de que terey disso comtentamento. e vos emcomendo q'mãodeis aduirtir em todos os portos de uossas terras os não consintão nelles mem lhe dem carga para suas naos e delles não sejão paros a Roubar de manr^a^ que por falta de aduirtencia nossa não suçeda o contr^o^ p que Receberey disso muito dispraser e ao meu Viso Rey escreuo ordene q minhas Armadas se emcontrem com os ditos Rebeldes para lhe darem o castigo que merecem, e o mesmo lhe mando faça aos que nessas p^es^ lhe darem fauor e Recolherem em seus portos e ho auiso q' en tudo o que uos cumprir desse estado procure daruos satisfaçao comforme ha muita q'de uos tenho muito Nobre Rey de Cananor Nosso Snor uos alumie em sua graça e Com ella uos aja. semp^re^ em sua guarda, escrita em Lx^a^ a 23 de Dezb^ro^ de 606.

Mançoes do Reino, No. 6 (1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 116.

X

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO VENKATA II

(Madrid, January 27th, 1607.)

Copia da carta q' uay nestas uias p^a^ el Rey de Bisnagà.

Muite Nobre Rey de bisnagà.

Eu Dom Phelippe, etc^{a}. Vos faco saber q eu tenho entendido o bom acolhim^{to} q em uos achão os Religiosos da Comp^{a}. E o fauor e ajuda q'lhes dais nas cousas da Christandade de q me Pareçeo uos deuia dar (como faço por esta minha carta) as diuidas graças, e significaruos a boa Vontade com q por este Respeito folguarey de uos comprazer todo o Possiuel em uosas couzas, E assy m^{do}. ao meu Viso Rej desse estado q o faça no q'nos delle Cumprir E espero de Vossa nobreza q' continuareis este bom procedim^{to}. com os ditos Religiosos de Man^{a}. cada vez me d(eu)ria Eu hauer por mais obriguado delle muito nobre Rey de bisnagà nosso S^{or}. uos alumie com Sua graça e com ella aja uossa pessoa em sua guarda.

Escrita em Madrid. a 27. de Jan^{o} de 607.

Monçoes do Reino, (No. 6 1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 124.

XI

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO

(Lisbon, February, 20th, 1614.)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo. Eu El Rey Vos inuio muito saudar. O Bispo de Meliapor me escreueo representando os seruiços que me tem feito no cerco que se pos aquella cidade E enfortificar é na tomada do forte que os olandeses tinhà em Paleacate, E em outras cousas, e que por se não pagar o q' tenho aplicado a fabrica daquela sei nã vi(o) ordenados (o)s Saçerdotes e ministros que nella serué e se destruiré as terras que o Rey de bisnagá daua para sua sustentação paga.....

Per ser informado q a cazada myá da mesma cidade de Meliapor e a muitos annos q' anda mal gouernada aplicancandose o dr^{o}. dos depozitos a os uzos pas pessoas que nella sirué.....

Escrita em Lis^{a} a xx de. f^{ro} de 1614 O bispo Dom Pedro.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 143.

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613)

Resposta da Carta que tratta dos P^{es}. da Comp^{a}. que residem no Reino de Bisnagá.

Primeyo. Estes Relligiosos que estauão em Bisnaga, e residião em Chandegri, onde o Rey assiste; tanto que seus Supperiores souberão de q' V. Mag'. sobre elles escreueo os fizerão logo recolher para a sua Prouincia, que foi perda pa. muitas couzas do seruiço de V. Mag'. e disto em particular resultou teré oje os Holandeses fortz'. em Paleacate, e a guerra q per ordem daq'". Rey se fez a Meliapor com m'. danno daquella cidade, e cada dia, e cada dia succederão outros incomuenientes. Pollo q ey q não so he necess'". residirem em Chandegri junto a pessoa do Rey, que faz delle cabedal, mas tambem em Paleacate tomandose aquella fortz'. aos Holandeses (como eu confio em Deus, q hade ser breue m'". co a armada, q ally dettremino enuiar) e em outros portos daquella costa, porq' em todos será sempre a sua assistencia, e bons officios, q co prudencia sabem fazer de muito effeito contra quaes quer intentos destes Rebeldes, e porq' toda aquella gente deppende de interesse pareçeme, q não so' conuem, q' se lhes proueja a estos Relligiosos o necess'". p' sua sustentação, mas alguã cousa maes, q' possa dar, e q co isto se consequirão p seu meyo muitas q de outra man'" obrigarião a se faseré grandes gastos para as Remedear. E assy por isto, como porq' quando eu estaua em Ceilão lhes ficaua Vesinho, e sey q procedião exemplarm'". Pollo q a informação q. foi dada a V. Mag'. deuia proçeder de emulação (cousa muy ordin'" entre Ecclesiásticos) ou de outro algu particular resp'". E principalm'". por entender, q essa he atenção de V. Mag'. ando trattando co o seu Prouincial, que os torne a enuiar ally. Aos de Maduré se dará a ordin'" q V. Mag' manda E eu lhes dey de parte de V. Mag'. as graças do bom procedimento, q' tem nas materias da Christandade, q elles mereçem muy bem, porq se empregão neste ministerio co todo cuidado e applicação.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 26.

XIII

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO AND THE LATTER'S REPLY

(Lisbon, March 7th, 1613.)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo Eu El Rey uos enuio muito saùdar. Por cartas do Viso Rey Ruíz L'". detau'". e do Bispo de Meliapor entendi o apertado çerco que a gente dEl Rey de Bisnaga poz aqla çidade, e quão necessario hè fortificarse, assi e por se(r) de tanta importancia

para a nauegação, e comercio dos m^ms. della, e principalmente por estar aly o corpo do bema(ue)nturado São Thomè, pello que hey por bem que a a çidade se fortefique, e de conçeder para sua fortificação huã viagem de Choromandel diante de todos os prouidos, como uereis pella prouisão que mandei pass(ar) e se uos enuiara com esta, e vos encomendo que p(ara) o bom effeito, e cumprimento della deis todo o fauor e ajuda necess^ria. e para a obra da dita forteficaçao se fazer co toda a breuidade, despendendose n(ell)a odr^o. procedido da dita viagem para se acabar a obra da dita forteficação uos deuia ordenar (q o) Bispo procurasseis por persuadir aos Marado(r)es (della) que pozessem sobresy para ella odrt^o. dehum p() em suas fz^ms. como hà nas mais cidades em q. de(uem) uir facilmente por ser para sua defensão, nao o () por bem de que por ahora se tratasse de a carregar com este nouo dereito por respeito das perdas que padecer(em) no çerco, e co esta consideração uos hey por encarre(gado) tratar deste negoçio quando enterderdes q (sea) paraisso milhor occassião, e hauendo algu alu() com que possais ajudar a dita obra, o façais, com tamto que não seiao viagems, né cousa com que se prejudique aos prouidos, né de minha fz^a. pello estado em que ella ella para isso esta como sabeis.

O mesmo Viso Rey me escreueo també como os Moradores da ditta çidade de são Thome de Meliapor lhe pedião ajudas e fauor, não so para se forteficar, mas para se incorporar na jurisdição desse estado, e se por alfandega, e arrecador para minha fz^a. os quatro por çento que se pagão de dr^ms. na praya a El Rey de Bisnagà, o qual hi tão uelho q^e se espera por horas sua morte, e que aja co ella discençoés, e occasiao, de se poderé senhorear aquellas terras, o q^e se me representou ser de muita consideração pello trabalhaso estado em q esse Està em muitas cousas a que ha que acudir e estar çerto o mal q o tomarà aquelle Rey, ou os q lhe suceder, com que não som^ms., serà mui difficultoso conseguir o q^e se propoé (ainda q^e se meta muito cabedal) mas se arriscarà a q co essa occasião dem os portos q^e té naquella costa aos Olandeses q os deseiao muito, e que tendo os elles seajintem hus e outros, e deitem dally meus vassalos, pello q me pareceo deueruos remeter esta materia, e encomendaruos (como faco) que sopostas todas estas difficultades pondo tudo em conselho facais nella o q^e se assentar, e uirdes que mais conuem ao seruiço de Deos e meu, e seguranta daquella çidade auisandome particularm^e do q^e se asentado e fizerdes.

E porque eu tenho muita satisfaçao da pessoa e seruiços do dito Bispo, e do bem que proçedeo no dito çerco, E elle se me queixa que se lhe não pagão seus ordenados Vos encomendo que co muita Preuidade lhe façais pagar todo o que delles lhe fer deuido, e que os que for uensendo se lhe pagem com pontualidade, e que encarregueis a algus criados seus q elle.....

E porque tambem fui auizado do bem q o Naique de Tanjaor se ouue em meu seruico na occasião do dito çerco lhe mando agradecer por minha carta que se uos enuiará com esta para lhe enuiardes como uereis da copia della. Escrita é Lis[a] a sete de Março de *1613* Rey.

* (Cap. 1°). Tanto que Recebi esta carta de V. Mag[de] vendo a merce que por ella faz a çidade de Meliapor para sua forteficação de huã viagem de Choromandel p[a] Malaca passei logo patente della para a fazer a pessoa q[e] o Bispo e çidade nomeassẽ, e assi lhe passei prouisao pra co o procedido della se correr na forma q V. Mag[de] por este cap[o] manda...

(Cap. 2°.) Este Rey de Bisnaga he falecido, e como naquella cidade de Meliapor não ha presidio né força para vençer os contrastes q recreseré queremdose tratar de q neste capit[o] se apporta me pareçeo q não era tempo de de fer nesto nouidade.

(Cap. 3°.) ()am[tos] mil x[os] q V. Mag[de] faz o Bispo lhe passei prouisão e procurarei q com effeito se. lhe pague...

(Cap. 4°.) A carta de Vossa Mag[de] para o Naique de Tanjaor se mandao ao Bispo para elle lhe enuiar. Guarde Deus a Cat[a]. pessoa de V. Mg[de]. como a Christandade hà mister deste galeão todos os Santos a 21 de Jan[ro] de *1615*.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fols. 143-144.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(Goa, December 24th, 1613.)

E os de Meliapor é particular q são todos muy liures, e não bem acostumados, e a experiencia té mostrado q[e] nao se milhorarão nenhuã cousa por hauer alij Bispo, nẽ hera neceſs[o].

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 51.

* This is the draught of the Viceroy' answer written in the margin of the same folio.

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO THE KING PHILIP III

(Goa, December 26th, 1613.)

A cidade de Meliapor desejei muito prouer de hu presidio, e dar lhe p cabeca hu fidalgo de authoridade porque de faltar aly semelhante pessoa a q se tenha respeito, hey q resultão as desordens, q nella se commeté e estar co a diuisão e discordia dos moradores maes arriscada, e em particular para acudir dally a impedir o q os Olandeses intentaré de nouo naquella Costa e trattar de lançar os q estão em Palleacate; communiquey a matteria é conselho, e pareçeo q era huá das maes importantes, q depresente auia para bem do estado, trattouse tãobem da pessoa, e pollos mais Vottos sahio q fosse dom Bernardo de Noronha, e assy lhe mandey declarar e q lhe daria tudo o q se pudesse tirar do estado co o mesmo ordenado q' tem o capitão de Ormuz, e os poderes naquella cidade e em toda aquella costa q' se comçedem aos Capitãos mores das armadas, E por maes officios, q com ele se fezerão da minha parte, pello Arçebispo e por Dom Luis dagama E ultimam'. pello Secret'. do estado como Ministro de V. Mag'. dizendolhe q' como as maos chegassem lhe enuiaria gente co q e podesse dar em Paleacate, E em sua companhia levaria logo todo o q pudesse tirasse daqui, resolueose co tudo em o não fazer, e posto que entendi q era este caso digno de se fazer huá grande demonstracão sobre, deixey todavia de o fazer p não acabar de se desacreditar o seruiço.

...V. Mag' o mandara fazer é tudo como o uuer q' le maes seu seruico.....

...Goa a *26* de Dez'' de 1613.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 51.

XVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D' AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613.).

Reposta a la Carta, q tratta dos Reis Vesinhos

Ao Samori e Rey de Cananor se derão as graças como V. Mag' manda do bom procedimento q tiuerao na occasião dos olandeses q vierão a esta costa, e assy se faz sempre nas semelhantes, q se offerecẽ.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 21.

XVII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613.)

A cidade de Meliapor he pouoada de gente, q estaua custumada a Viuer co toda liberdade, onde a Justiça não tem mais lugar de fz^m sen off^a.q o que os mesmos moradores lhe querẽ dar, e emparticular os q^s são poderosos, porq como aquella terra he do Rey de Bisnaga, e não ha aly presidio, nẽ poder de q^s se temão cada dia succedẽ estas, e outras muitas desordens sem se poderẽ remediar, e posto q o principal respeito, porq desejo por naquella cidade hu fidalgo de authoridade p^a seruir de capitão della e ter hua guarnição competente p^a. as cousas da guerra, q^s se offereçerẽ e fortalesa de Palleacatte, q aly tem, todavia considero tambem a necessidade que ha aly de Semelhantes pessoas, co poder p^a. enfrear aquelles moradoses, e os faser Viuer em temor, sobediencia das Justiças e em quanto isto não ha nenhuã cousa montão deuassas, e eu fico aduertide da q V. Mag^e. manda, q^s se tire de Ant^o. Pereyra de Sousa cujo procedimento he tão conhecido, q^s se^o eu podera haner as maio^s poucas prouas mais se lhe ouuerão de buscar.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 30.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D' AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(December 31st, 1614.)

Por o Bispo de Meliapor me fazer instancia todo este jmuerno passado sobre se emuiar a quella cidade hu fidago de qualidade a que se tiuesse respeito e alguã gente de guerra com q obrigasse aos detr^s a lho terem e para o q comprisse para sua defensão e o mais q se offereçesse tocante a fortz^s q os olandeses tem feito em Paliacate e em particular para compor e aquietar os bandos q aly ha entre os moradores daquella terra q^s são de qualidade q^s se podẽ m^te. temer q esta seja a principal occazião para seella perder; Tinha assẽtado de enviar aly dom Bernardo den^s o qual sẽ embargo de não hauer aseitado o anno passado fazer esta jornada a aseitaria agora, e somente esperaua q as naos chegasse para da jente dellas lhe dar ate cento e sincoenta homẽs, porem como V. Mag^de. em hua das cartas q me escreue não aproua que se

enuie para residir aly semelhante pessoa dezisti do negocio, nẽ elle poderá já ter effeito se não em fer^ro. q^e Vem por as naos hauerẽ tardado, quererá Deus qe desta minha jornada resulte ficar isto do Norte nos termos q conuẽ porq'com isso me disporei logo a trattar das cousas daquellas partes, e por Ventura q passe em possoa a ellas.

O Rey de Bisnagá he morto e se mouerão co isso grandes disçencoes sobre a succçessão daquelle Reino, e hu q elle deixou nomeado não se satis fizerão os grandes, e o matarão, e estão as cousas nesta confuzão, e tempo era este q^e se estiuer(a) aly hua pessoa de confiança co alguã gente fora façel lançar mão de algua cousa naquelles contornos.

Desta parajen dos Ilheos queimados ao ultimo de Dez^ro. de 1614.

D Iedojmo dazeuedo.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fols. 165-166.

XIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(January 4th, 1616).

V Mg^de. tem conçedido a esta cidade de Meliapor duas viagens de Choromãdel para se forteficar as quas antepus as q V. Mg^de. tẽ conçedido para o estado, com o procedido dellas se poderá dar principio a obra e faser parte della e conforme ao q isto luzir mandara V. Mg^de. emtão trattar da mais merçe q for justo q para a dita forteficação mande faser.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 213.

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES de SALDANHA

(Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601.)

E assy dizem que pela fortaleza de Manar estar muito desbaratada, os Religiosses da Companhia que Ressidem naquelas partes persuadirão aos Christãos da pescaria, dessem algua ayuda a sua custa para o Repairo. E comcerto da dita fortaleza. E que Vierão em dar a metade do custo que se fezesse para o que logo depossitarão dous mil pardaos, e que ate gora (se) não tinhã ordenado nhuã coussa nella, emcomendouos, deis ordem, como se faça esta obra. E que

seya de maneira que fique aquela fortaleza defensauel, para os a. Adentes que lhe sebre Vieram pois estes Christaos da pescaria querem contribujr com a metade da dep. a desta obra.

Monçoes de Reino, No. 8, Ano de 1601 te' 1602, fol. 79.

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613).

Os auizes q V. Mag^de^ me escreve que teve de naos olandezas e Ingresas q seaprestauão para passar a estas partes, e depoderẽ ser ja partidas alguas, me não fez nenhua nouidade, perq isto mesmo espero q sejacada anno em q^e^ se não cortarẽ as raizes que cá tem lançado esta gente.

De'nenhua destas naos olandezas hà nouas ategora e o Bispo de Meliapor me escreuee q não auia aportado por lá nenhua embarcação sua, sendo assi q os olandeses q esidem en Paleacate estauão co muito cuidado aguardan oas; e posto quo uendo eu q nenhua das naos do Reino che[illegible] ou ca...

Monçoes de Reine, No. 12, Ano de 1612, fol. 31.

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. FRANCESCO RICIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601.)

Nesta terra de São Thome ha duas man^{as} de lingoas, da terra hua como da pescaria q̃ eu tinha prendido, a outra dos badaguas; p isso comensei a prender a lingoa dos badaguas, e p ter semelhança hua co outra facilm^{te} entrei nella, e luogo fez hua arte da mesma lingoa tudo isso parece q̃ foi providencia de dispor q̃ veo a São Thome o p. Visitador Nicolas Pimenta p^{e}. visitar os p.^{es} encomendou m^{to} q̃ se buscasse modo de ter entrada nesta corte de bisnaga p^{a}. poder nestes reynos manifestar a ley de Christo Nosso Snor, & sendo reitor o p^{e}. Simão de Saa p meu de hu criado sobro del Rey q̃ se chama oburaja entramos nesta corte p. q. hoburaja escreveos duas ollas aos p^{es} q̃ (fossẽ) co elle q lhe faria m.^{tas} honras E assi ho p. Simão de Saa e eu por seu companheiro viemos a esta cidade de Chandrigirim a (ter) co elle o qual nos fes m^{tas} honras e nos levou a el rey o qual tãbẽ nos fes ho mesmo e nos deu lisença q̃ nos podessemos fazer igregia e cazas nesta sua cidade despois d'isto fomos a São Thome e escrevemos a Goa ao p^{e}. Visitador o q̃ passamos co el Rey, o qual mandou logo o p^{e} Manoel da Veigua ordenando que fosse eu em sua cop.^{a} e viessemos neste Chandrigrim a fazer igregia E assi vimmos praterço oburajo o qual depois de nos ter feito mu.^{ta} honra nos apresentou a el Rey o qual folguo co nossa vinda o burajo p vontade del rej nos deu hu logar m.^{to} bo e grande p.^{a} fazer Igregia pequena e cazas e sereamonos ao Redor, na Igregia possemos duas images hua do Salvador outra do nossa snora na qual Igregia vẽ continuam.^{te} muito concurso de gentilidade fazendo m.^{to} reverencia deitando se p terra diantes das images, pedindolhe merces teporaes e muitos delles vierão a dar graças p os favores q̃ alcançarão demos os misterios de nossa fee convencedooos q̃ vão errados e p. q. as cousas q̃ elle crẽ são mentiros manifestos e pecados nenhu delles sabe q̃ hão de responder se não ficar confusos e honrar as cousas de nossa ley taobẽ ao mesmo rey p meio das das images q̃ lhe mostramos co as quais elle muito folguo declaramos m.^{tas} vezes as cousas da nossa ley o qual p̃ser de m^{to} endimiento taobẽ faz o mesmo, mas co tudo isso nẽ elle nẽ nenhu destes gentes tẽ agora se baptizou tira(n)do hu menino, esperemos em Ds q̃ hos luminara no entendimento e darà força na vontade p. deixar os seus erros

e abrasar a verdade q̃ lhe temos declarada p^{a} ayudar esta gente taobẽ eu trabalhei e tirei hua doutrina crista e m^{tos} misterios da vida de Christo na mesma lingoa delles o q̃ (servira) muito quando o nosso snor lhes abrira os olhos agora temos grandes esperanças de suas conversoes, pq. el rey que(r) ter m^{ta} amizade co os portugueses o qual manda seus embaxadores ao Visorej co dous p^{es} nossos s. o p Simão de Saa e o p^{e} Belchior Cout.^{o} mandando dous aneis q custarão sinco mil paguodes e levão recado q̃ quer ser irmão em armas do Rej de Portugal. Nesta residencia de Chandrigrim estamos tres companheiros, s. o p. belchior Coutinho q̃ he de m^{ta} vertude & de grande ingenho e vaj m^{to} p diante na lingoa badagua, outro o Irmao Alexander frey de nação Ingrez po ser pintor e muito aceito al rey, o terceiro sou eu minimo de todos isso he o que me oferece escrever a V. P. de mi desta gente E p. q̃. el rej e esta gente são m^{to} afeiçoados as images Roguo a V. P. nos faça caridade de mandar p^{a} esta Igregia hua imagem do Salvador tranfigurado q̃ olha p todoas as partes q̃ he seu orago co as figuras q̃ estiverao na tranfiguração e sj V. R. nos ouuver de fazer esta caridade seja de la manho de hu home e rogo V. P. que mande en seu nome algua pintura boa e fermosa a el rej a qual daremos en nome de V. P. peco taobẽ a V. P. que mande p^{a} mim o liuro das images do P. Nadal asi p^{a} minha consolação espiritual como tãobẽ p. mostrar a esta gente a qual folgua muito de ver images resta somente deitarme aos pees de V. P. a sua s^{a} benção como taobẽ fazẽ os dous companheiros de Chandrigrim 20 de outubro de 1601.

FRANCISCO RICIO.

II

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1600

(1601).

Na missão de Bisnagà residem 3. P. e hu Irmao..... El Rey he ppicio aos P. e lhes faz merces e m^{tas} mais fizera, e de mais dura se dos seus fora obedecido. Dos Embaixadores do Gram Mogor o m^{to} cazo que seu Rey fazia sos nossos P^{es} o q̃ aiudou não pouco p^{a} autorizar naquella Corte nossas couzas.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. MANOEL DE VEIGA, PROVINCIAL OF MALABAR, TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, December 10th, 1601).

S. Thome tera 500 cruzados de renda, a maior parte lhe deu o rei gentio da terra, e tem alguas casas q̃ lhe rendem.

IV

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1601

(Goa, December 21st, 1601).

At Cioromandelis oram, ã Negapatano, vsq ad Bisnagoram, obiuit P. Emmanuel Veiga qui iam Residentiam inchoauit Chandegrini quae urbs nunc Bisnagorani regni sedes est.

Goae ad XII Calend. Januarij...1602

V. P. filius in Dno

NICOLAUS PIMENTA.

V

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1602

(Goa, December 21st, 1602).

Bisnagoranam Missionem magnopere promouerunt P Emmanuel de Veiga, Melchior Coutinius, Franciscus Ricius, et Frater Alexander natione Anglus. Regem habent ualde beneuolum, id quod ex litteris, quas ad me scripsit, V. Pat. cognoscet, has, ut ex lingua Canarana traducte sunt, hic ascribam.

Rex Regum, Dominus magnus, Eques Equitum, Vencatipati; post Deum Rex, Patri Visitatori, qui Goae est, Nicolao Pimentae hanc epistolam mittit.—istis litteris, quas V. R. ad me scripsit, colloquente mecum P. Emmanuele de Veiga Superiore patrum qui in his partibus commorantur, vehementer laetatus sum ac facult^m^ dedi Ecclesiam, et domum extruendi in urbe mea Chandegrino. Pegum etiam quẽ uocant Elamur prope ab oppido S. Thomae contuli in Patrum expensas, atq̃ tum istos, tum etiam alios qui eis

successerint, honoribus amplissimis et praemiis decorabo. Concessi praeterea amplam facultatem legem Dei praedicandi vt uolens quisq̃ Christianus fiat, neq̃ propterea de honore pristino quicquam detrahatur. Meus in lusitanos amor antiquus jam satis Goae innotuit. De honore quem Patribus detuli ipsi scribent. Annulum et alia quaedam munera Proregi mittere decreui, quae Condoqor Interpreti meo perferenda tradam. Id V. P. Proregi significabit, vt antiqua inter nos renouetur amicitia. Quid erit praeterea noui, id referet P. Emmanuel de Veiga, mihi quod scribam aliud nihil occurrit. Huc usq̃ Rex. Reliqua intelliget V. R. ex litteris P. Melchioris Coutinii, datis ad 16 Calend. Augusti anno 1600, in quibus scribit quae sequuntur—

Postquam P. Emmanuel de Veiga ad oppidum Sancti Thomae profectus uisitationem accepit tres tantum in praesentia hic sumus. P. franciscus Ricius et ego linguae addiscendae operam damus. Doctrinam Christianam quae propter Neophytos Salsetanos composita fuit, nos hic et alia nonnulla in linguam Badeganam uertimus. frater Alexander tabelam a se pictam regi monstrauit, ubi inerat pictura haec Saluatorem recens natum, quo pacto tre Magi iacentem in praesepio adorarunt. Aliam tabellam obtulit ubi inerat B. Virginis effigies puerum in ulnis tenentis hanc Rex uenerabundus in palatio loco celebri collocauit. Aliam frater pingere incepit de descensu Christi ad inferos, quam inchoatam Regi ostendit, is serio exoptat dum perficiatur, monstratis autem nonnullis imaginibus impressis, Rex hanc et illam de tribus Magis pingi uoluit. Faxit Deus ut harum rerum cum aspectus, tum doctrina, ei ueri notitiam aperiat aliquando. Cum fratre familiariter agit, ac forte cum pingenti adesset se dicentem audiret pigmenta deesse, quibus colorem picturis induceret, illico cubiculum ingrediens ipse sua manu, ei centu aureos protulit, quibus, quae opus essent coemerit...

His erroribus Brachmanes multa adiiciunt nefariae superstitionis plena, maxime ea quae de Perimale passim feruntur. non ita multo ante Tripitini, quae ciuitas ab hac urbe per tria millia passum distat anniuersarii nuptiarum Perimalis dies festi agebantur. huc tanta perigrinorum turba confluxit, ut delita donaria ducentis aureorum millibus censeretur. Crines tonsi, eorum qui hos pacto Se omnium peccatorum ueniam consequi arbitrantur, multu afferunt emolumenti iis, qui continentis elephantes funes faciunt, quos aiunt his capillis factos esse fortissimos. illuc Rex cum Reginis et ciuit" uniuersa se contulit uno relicto Dalattaio at palatii et urbis custodiam. Omnis illa solemnitas in hoc

uno consistit. Simulacru ingenti curru sublime uehitur. Currum decem hominu millia trahunt, ipse Rege cum primis adnitente. Caeptu est opus primo noctis crepusculo: media nocte pluuia Regem abegit, reliquis in labore perseuerantibus, donec uehiculum, ad mille et quingentos passus abductum, ad lucum unde fuerat delatum, restitueretur.

In nouilunio, quod proxime praecessit, festum quddam fuit vaccarum. Perimalem quippe de uacca ortum perhibent,. Videre erat in urbe, et in regia omnia uaccis plena, quas passim obuias habebamus, ut mirum uideret, in homines rationis compotes, tam turpes errores cadere potuisse; liceat certé aliquid dare educationi, et consuetudini, unu illud ualde ineptum atq absurdum, Regi non licere quemquam mane alloqui, nisi prius duorum Brachmanu uultu conspexerit. Quod si Deus illum et reliquos incolas sua luce illustrauerit haud dubic eos, in bonos Christianos euasuros crediderim. ac eadem constantia diuinis praeceptis obtemperaturos, qua nunc Daemones et inania simulacra uenerantur. Viseret me Regis, magistris falsis, ita per omnia more gerentis, ut stata ieiunia, quae bis recurrunt in mense, tam accurate obseruet, ut ne unu quide praetermittat.

Singulari beneuolentia, et amore nos complectitur. Ac nuper natis inter Lusitanos et Dalauaium discordiis in ciuitate S. Thomae, cui Dalauaius praeest quaecumq ab eo postulauim', libenter concessit. Itaq opera et industria P. Emmanuelis de Veiga et P. Rectoris S. Thomae conciliata inter omnes pax, et discordiae sublatae. Quin et Dalauaius suam domu petentes benigné, et humaniter nos accepit, comiter introduxit, et donationem annum trecẽ torun aureorum a suo Antecessore factam, ratam, ac firmam habuit. Aedes possidet Dalauaius, quae pulchritudine, et hortorum cultu, et ornatu fontium, et aquarum scatentiu artificiis, alias huius urbis facile superant. Rex per hos dies haec loca pertransiens, quaesiuit a suis, ubi esset nostra domus. Nos audito Regem uenisse, pro portis uenerabundi obuiam incessimus. qui Regem comitabantur acclamabant Paroco parangolu, id est uideat uestra celsitudo Patres Lusitanos, ille de nobis festinum et affabilem exhibuit. Deus Optimus Max. eius animum ac populi uniuersi, ad ueri Dei cultum ã uitae prauitate conuertat.

Ad eum Rex Mogolorum Achebar legatum cum quatuor equis et aliis muneribus misit, quae cum sui Regis nomine obtulisset, is rursus omnia legato donauit; et alia insuper munera cum pecuniis, quas item dari iussit in expensas. Aedes nondum habet qua propter is qui, qui id muneris habet,

ut legatos suscipiat, et in regis conspectu sistat, nos rogauit ut domi nostrae non amplius biduo hominē admitteremus. Locum dedimus idoneum, in quo mense iam comoratur, homo est prudens, et experiens. Ex eo cognouimus, quid agerent Patres nostri, qui apud Achebarem sunt. In colloquio quod cum Rege habebat honorificé multa de nobis praedicauit nostrosq apud dominu suum praecipuo in honore, ac pretio haberi affirmauit. Respondit Rex se eodem prorsus animo erga nos affici, quin et Ecclesiam, aedes, et alia omnia daturu. Regi dicunt eo consilio munera Achebaris legato donasse, eumq non ante uigessimum diem ad colloquium admisisisse, quod a ducibus monebatur, ne Achebari fideret. Si enim tres illos Reges Mahometanos, Abdeneganu, siue Meliquum, Dialcanu, et Mussalepatanu sub iugum mitterit, dicebant facile fore ut Regnum Bisnaganum in potestate redigat. Ad haec Regem dixisse aiut regnum in manu Dei est, me (inquit) si uolet priuare imperio, quis eum prohibebit? Ego uero Mahometani pedes no osculabor. Si uenerit certum est praelio decertare. Alii alias causas afferunt.

Coeterum ille delectum habet fortissimorum ducum, per causam Cangiuarani recuperandi, quae ciuitas cum omni ditione adiacente Astapanaico Tangiorano Dynastae parebat. is nuper satis concessit, corpus demortui in rogo ex sandali ligno extructo, una trecentae et septuagintae uxores uiuae concrematae sunt. Huius filius natu minor, maiorem, quem pater antea custodiae tradiderat, interfecit. Ac iam constat Regem nihil de hac expeditione cogitare. Neq uero de alia, ad quam, eum proceres magnopere hortabantur Gingiam urbem vt capiat. Christapanaicus enim, is qui V. R. illuc iter habentē tam humaniter accepit, ueneno infectus insanit, quamquā sunt patuisse iam dolos, atq Dynastam vt fucum faceret quatuor regni sui magnatibus, quos postea occidit, se mente captum finxisse. Hanc urbem suaserunt Regi, ut armis impeteret, ille quamquā jure fortasse posse, tamen ut est leni et miti ingenio, respondit, efferatae crudelitatis esse, stipendiarium suum insania laborantem armis insectare. Quare probabiliore coniectura ducor, vt credam, hunc ducum et proceru conuentum eo tendere, ut de Achebare repellendo, deq urbibus praesidio occupandis consulint. Equidem non incredibile existimauerim haec omnia Dei nutu ad optabiliorem finem contigisse, ut nimirum hac occasione Sanctae fidei notitia ad plures perueniat, atq non solum in hac urbe, uerum etiam vbiq gentium catholicae ueritatis praeconibus locus pateat, quoniam uti antea ad V. R. scripsi Tornogoda Olalae Praefectus de integro nos inuitat. Et Trimarragius Regis Bisnagorani fratris filius, natu maximus,

hujus regni haeres, multis precibus ā nobis contendit vt ad se ueniamus. Scit enim V. R. cum huius Principis pater ē uita excederet, ad hunc, qui nunc regnant, defuncti fratrem, omnium ordinu consensu imperium esse delatum, praeteritis demortui filiis, qui tunc temporis, per aetatem non poterant regni gubernacula adire. Et quanquam Rex fratris filium natu minorē quem in palatio educat, maiore studio prosequitur, uulgo tamen affirmant maiorē natu regnaturum, qui plures et potentiores Dynastas fautores habeat. hic in ciuitate sua Cirangapatano commoratur, qui abhinc quadraginta, aut quinquaginta leucas, ac tantudē a nostro Mangalore distat, inde ad nos litteras misit, quaru hoc est exemplum.

Trimanus, Mahamanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Dominus magnus Princeps, hanc epistolam ad Patres mittit. Vehementer gaudebo ubi uos ad hanc meam ciuitatem uenire intelligam. Venientibus aream dabo, aedibus, et Ecclesiae in hac urbe condendis accomodatam, insuper quingentos tagodios aureos in annuos redditus. Singulari etiam honore et monificentia uos complectar. 1ta iuro per Dominum Zanganatam, et per pedes patris mei Ramaragii. Coatera ex legato meo cognoscetis, statim uenite et nolite moram trahere.

Domuncula nostra aream habet latam, ac uento salubri peruiam, ad Ecclesiam et aedes construendas accomodatam, et turbis popularibus minime obnoxiam.

Interea loci Ecclesiam paruam extruximus satis pro tempore accomodatam, quoad amplioris aedificandae facultas suppetat. Haec P. Melchior Coutinius.

Jucundior etiam uniuersis, et maiore laetitia et applausu referta Bisnagensis Regis legatio fuit, cui causā dedit nostrorum Patrum ad Chandegrinum profectio, et in urbe regia domicilium erectum. Ea sane legatio, quam uel Regis uicini potentia, uel ipsa uicinitas, uel antiqua cum lusitanis amicitia, uel (quod caput est) facultas recens data euangelii promulgandi egregie commendabat, multis nominibus uniuersae ciuitati grata fuit. Scripserat ei Prorex, et per literas de suo in Indiam appulsu certiorem faciens, gratias agerat quod nostrae Societatis homines tam singulari humanit' fuisset complexus. Qua de cause Rex honorificam legationem decreuit, ac duos legatos uiros primarios ad Proregem misit, quibus duos é nostris Patribus Simonem Sā et Melchiorem Coutinium comites adiungi uoluit, reliquis duobus secum in Ecclesia Chiandegrinensi retentis. Possem multa scribere de huius legationis principio, progressu et fine, ac de precibus assiduis, quibus Princeps, per cuius terras iter habebant,

uehementer contendebat ut e duobus Patribus alter in reditu cum ipso maneret. Verum hoc consulto praetero, ut unu illud, quod singularem omnibus nobis laetitiam, et admirationẽ attulit, attingam. Legati enim, et ipsi ethnici, tanti nostrus Ecclesias, tanti Christianorum sacra aestimarunt, ut eorum altaribus uenerabundi procumberẽt, ingenue fatentes ueru Deum a Christianis coli; haec opinio de nostris rebus, et omnium fere est, et quotidie crescit. Nec minori fuit admirationi Christianorum pietas, tum in supplicationibus, quas ad Templum S. Pauli sextis feriis quadragesimalibus quotannis fieri animaduertebant, tum uel maxime in illa frequenti baptizandorum pompa, cum catechumenos pro ualuis ejusdem nostri templi stantes, ac solemni supplicatione ad sacrum fontem deductos cernerent. Haec enim omnia ut commode uiderunt, data est opera ut iuxta nostrum Collegium oportuno loco diuersarentur. Illi igitur ad patriam reuersi, mira quaedam de Christianis institutis, ac moribus coram Rege ac populo praedicant; atq hoc pacto paulatim nominis Christiani bonus odor, eorum sensus peruadit, et de ueri Dei cultu melius in dies sentiunt. Vtinam maneat haec opinio et existimatio, et eam, quam de falsis superstitionibus mente comprehenderunt, penitus comuellat, et labefactet.

Goae ad xii Caled. Januarii, hos ect ut in superiore epistola, die sacro S. Thomae Apostolo. Indiae Patrono. anno a partu Virginis 1602.

V. P. filius in Dno.

NICOLAUS PIMENTA.

VI

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF EASTERN INDIA, 1601.

(1602.)

El Rey de Bisnaga uay mostrando cada dia os fauores, amisade e beneuolencia q̃ tem aos nossos fasendolhe muitas honrras. E como quer q̃ a renda q̃ pera sua sustentacam os annos passados opontou has aldeas não teue efeito, por se atrauesar no negocio o Regidor Mayor, e algums dos grandes da quella Cort q̃ nellas pertendiam seus intereces, nos quebrou El Rey mil pagodes de renda cada anno nas parias q̃ hum dos Naiques seus sogeitos lhe paga, atte q̃ se offereça algua boa ocasiam de terras escusas em q̃ a comedia dos nossos sem encontro as possa permanecer: pera de colorar esta renda deu suas olas com as quaes indo hum nosso a Canger uaram ter com o Polle por cuja mam esta paga ha de corre-

foy delle recebido com muitas honrras, e mostras de amor, e como se fora hu dos Principes Europenses, amigos de Compª. Sabendo q̃ uinha o Pº lhe mandaua cada dia ao caminho hua ola de comprimentos, q̃ seruiam como elle disia de Bombardadas hua apos outra pera festeiar o Pº pormeteo q̃ em tudo as compreria, e q̃ no Janeiro seguinte, faria logo a primeira Candaia q̃ he o qº quartel da paga, como na realidade fes q̃ montou quinhentos pardaos.

VII

A LETTER OF Fr. FRANCESCO RICIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603.)

Anno 1602 quatuor litteras plenas charitatis and amoris in Christo a Paternitate tua accepi: quibus non solum uehementer gauisus sum, sed etiam in hac amplissima missione omnes uitae meae annos consumere et finire (nisi aliud mihi impositum fuerit) constitui. Est enim missio haec tam ampla ut uix litteris explicari possit; sunt enim in hoc Regno tot regiones, et insignes ciuitates, ut si Deus (ut speramus) eos ad fidem uocauerit innumeri operari ad excolendam uineam necesse fuerint. Dixi spem esse Magnam, quia Rex hujus Regni, eo nos prosequitur amore ut singulis annis mille auereorum numorum dare jusserit Cum loquimur cum illo, et ostendit erga nos signa grandis amoris et libenter nostram doctrinam audit, presertim cum loquimur de Jesv, saluatore, et de Beata Virgine. Auditaque aliis singnificans, approbat. Sic etiam cum plures hujus Regni, et sanguine et doctrina preclari, cum audiut res nostras gaudio replentur, et approbant unam esse legem anum Deum, ut nos omnibus explicamus, et licet in omni doctrina, quam docemus magnam accipiant laetitiam, presertim cum decem praecepta legis diuinae explicamus, est tam magna laetitia eorum, ut uix litteris explicari possit: cognoscut n. legem hanc esse diuinam, ac optimam, et suam plenã erroribus, ac de causa saepissime ueniunt ad nos, et ad nostram Ecclesiam, et audiunt letanter praecepta diuina et omnia quae ad animarum salutem pertinent, maxima pietate, ac deuotione; ueniut ad Ecclesiam nostram non solum ii qui morantr. in hac Regia Ciuitate, sed etiam ex multis partibus hujus Regni, et prostratis in terra maxima animi sumissione suis in necessitatibus a Deo auxilia poscut, deusque optimus maximus

eorum fidem intuẽs saepe miracula faciens iis auxiliari dignatus est. Miracula et alia cum in litteris annuis scribantur ad paternitatem tuam breuitatis causa scribere omitto. Cum haec uinea sit amplissima et maximi fructus nostri laboris sperentur, ad hanc uineam excolendam proprios operarios, ut mittat Paternitatem tuam uehemẽter rogamus, et quia sunt plures linguae ad discendae operari debent esse magni ingenii et adolescentes / quia aliter consequi minime possunt est enim quaedam lingua in qua doctrina eorum est scripta et legis fundamenta; et fere singulis diebus Rex et ejus magistri seu Philosophi intense disputant de Deo, Philosophia et et mathematica et alii astantes fere nihil intelligunt, quia licet siatur lingua hujus Regni est alia lingua tanquam mater Indiae linguarum quae uocatr sanscratam ubi sunt quinque libri in quibus tractatur de eorum diis et de historiis et fabulis in quibus modis aparuerunt, ut aiunt dii hominibus. Sut atiam quatuor leges, et sex scienciae, et hunc librum at linguam paucissimi sciunt, Ego licet didiceri Duas linguas s. Badaguẽsem, et Tamulẽsem, quia sexaginta annos natus, hanc consequi minime possum hac de causa cum uidemus Regem disputare de Deo, Philosophia et Mathematica nihil possumus loqui, quia nihil intelligimus, sed si Paternitas tua inter alios operarios quos huc erut missurii Antonium Rubinum fratrem nostrum qui Goa moratur huc nenire juserit, quia iste, ut dicut, est magni ingenii et ualde Doctus, in mathematica, magna erit spes, ut Rex et alii cognoscant, suos errores, et conuertantur, et ne ab aliis qui Goa morãtr., operari huc uenientes, impediãtr., ad ViceProuincialem si eos misserit, erit maxime expediens, sic etiam, ut solbantur multae difficultates haec V. Prouincia si Prouincia fuerit constituta, erit (ut mihi uidetur) maxime expediens: dico hoc quia VProuincialem uideo esse magni amimi ad missiones faciendas Prouincialem uero tam difficile ad dondos operarios ut ex sexaginta operariis quos Pater Albertus adduxit sex tantum illi sunt dati, et ejus VProuincia est tam ampla ut uix litteris possit Est (haec) missio walde magna operarii uero pauci Et sut multi qui petut Patres et quia caremus istis dari non possut, ut mittat ergo rogamus Paternitatem tuam non solum ad ViceProuinciam multos Patres sed etiam ad hanc V. Prouinciam destinatos et jubeat ne ab aliis ne huc ueniãt impediãtr. Haec sunt quae hoc anno mihi uisa sut Paternitati tuae scribenda de lingua uero in litteris annuis scribentur uale iterum uale meque indignum seruum Paternitatis tuae flexum Paterna tua benedictione benedicat, uehementer rogo datum anno 1603. die decimo septembris.

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1602.

(1603.)

Emtre os Proueitos q̃ desta missão se seguirão não foi pequeno afeiçoar tanto hu Rei tão poderozo aos Portuguezes que p renouar a amizada q̃ seus ante passados antiguam^te fizerão, mas ja estaua quazi de todo esqueçida, mandase ao Vizo Rei seus embaixadores com os nosos p^es com hua mui onrroza Embaixada como ja cuido q̃ a anno passado se escreueo. despedidos os Embaixadores de goa com fauores, e honrras do Vizo Rei forão p terra a Chandegri, aonde diante do Rei, e mais snors de sua corta apregoarão as grandezas das nosas couzas, e os fauores q̃ do Vizo Rei e p em goa tinhão Recebido, o qoal seu Rei m^te estimou, e mostrouse da hi p^a diante m^te mais afeiçoados a nosas couzas, Em Resposta desta Embaixada lhe mandou outra ao Vizo Rey, O embaixador foi Recebido do Bisnaga com m^tas omrras e aparato p q̃ chegando a chandegri o saio receber hu dos principaes do comselho real com Ellefantes, camellos, cauallos, ataballes, e mais sinaes de allegria e festa, e apozentou nos melhores passos, e cazas daqla Sidade. Estaua neste tempo o Rei em Trepetti duas legoas de chandegri he esta Sidade de Tripetti mui grd e formoza e como outra Roma p^a esta gentilidade p cauza de hu pagode mui venerado q̃ nella esta dedicado ao seu Pirmal q̃ parece responder a Satanas, aqui comcorre de todo este oriente gente Innumerauel q̃ vem com grandes deuacoes e ofertas a vizitar este Pagode. nesta cidade quis o Rey Receber o noso Embaixador mandandoo busquar com m^te aparato, e magestade p lo seu Intimo priuado, e estaua o Rei no Enterior de hu pateo granissimo, não co Ricos vestidos, ɒ q̃ os não costumão: mas cheio de pedraria manilhas, e Ramaes de perorolas do pe ate a caveza, em q̃ emtrauao duas Joias de notauel fermuzura, hua esmeralda sirquada de grandes perollas, e finos diamantes, outra hu Rubi, de m^te presso, e notauel grandeza, chegou o Embaixador por o Joelho no chao, o Rei o fes alleuantar e asentar Recebeo a carta e o presente do Vizo Rei com mostras de m^te allegria, e tratou da amizade e comunicação q̃ com os Portuguezes desejaua ter, e outras couzas pertemçentes ao bẽ do Estado, e depois depedio o Embaixador cheo de onrras, e merçes, e aos p^es mostrou m^te melhor agazalhado e affeiçao qro^a o Snor p estes meios dispor aqulã segua gentillidade p^a Receber o lumè da fee.

IX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CTAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, January, 15th, 1602).

Quanto as Residencias de Bengala, e Pegu mandarey tambẽ Visitar p algu Pré como V. P. ordena; Posto que eu este anno passado tinha determinado de as Visitar em pessoa, e chegar atte Malaca, mas porque depois vierão novas, q̃ por aquelle mar auia muitas naos de Olandezes, e Ingrezes, nossos imigos, e tinhão tomadas alguas Naos dos nossos Portuguezes da India, e não parecia estaua este ano a passajẽ segura, fuy forçado deixar a Visita, e de são Thome depois de Visitar a Residencia de Bisnagá, tornar a este Collegio, como fiz no mes de Nouebro passado, auendo ja seis mezes, que partira delle, que tanto tempo he neces° pera Visitar as Costas de Trauancor, da Pescaria, Manàr, Negapatão, o Collegio de sao Thome, e a Residencia de Bisnagá, em Chandegry, a qual de sao Thome não dista mais que dous dias, e meo de caminho p terra, e m^to^ siguro.

de. Cochim. 15. de Jan. de 1604.

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ALBERTO LAERTIO.

X

AN EX TRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, January, 18th, 1604.)

A Residencia de Chandegry no Reino de Bisnaga he empresa de grade importancia, promete de si muito, e se pode esperar grande conversão; não esta o neg° em mais que em começar algum sor de aquelles a se bautizar que logo o seguirão os outros. São aquelles senhores muy grandes e ricos, hus tem quinhentos mil cruzados de renda, outros seis centos mil, outros quatro centos mil, e destes a muitos, e todos são muito amigos dos Pres., muito corteses, affaveis e de muito bom entendimento; e muitos delles nos pedem que fazem igreias e casas em suas cidades, offrecendo a renda pera sustentação dos Pres, mas ategora não aceitamos, nem se fez ainda conversão porque não ouue ate gora Pres que se applicassem de proposito, a aprender suas lingoas, que são duas, hua a comua que se falla e vulgar, a outra como latim em q̃ estão escritas as seitas e fabulas dos seus deoses, e sem

haver quẽ saiba estas lingoas pouco se pode esperar, poi não he Ds de fazar milagros, mas o pᵉ francisco Ricio aprende a vulgar was a velho e não se atreve aprender a segunda, o Pe Belchior Coutinho tinha começado aprender a primeira lingoa...Tambem importa o Irmão Bertholameu Pintor pera esta Viceprovincia ia o anno passado o escrevey a V. R.

Cochim 18 de Janeiro de 1604 +

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLADIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, January 12th, 1605).

Tenho este anno Visitado outra uez toda esta V. Prouincia até sao Thome com mᵘᵗᵗ consolação minha, pollo bom procedimento, e augmento que achey nos nossos todos e nas Christandades que temos a nossa conta, seja o Sor muito louuado, e se o Pᵉ Manoel da Veiga Prouincial de Goa, não fora tão contrario a esta V. Prouincia, por se ter feita esta separação contra o seu parecer, e traça, e querer tudo péra a sua Prouincia de Goa e nos acudira com alguas ajudas, mais de sogeites, aptos assy pera estes nossos estudos, como pera estas impresas, particularmente pᵉ às de Bisnagá que hé de muy grande importancia, e esperanças; Não duuido que estivera esta V. Prouia em tudo muito mais adiante, e o negoçeo da Conuersão com muito mais augmento. A necessidᵉ que temos do Irmão Bertolameu Pintor pera estas xptandades hè muy grande, mas o Pᵉ Prouãl o não largara de Goa, se V. P. lhe não mandar espressamente nolo dé; sem hauer lugar a replica, nem a epiqueja, e afora que eu em Roma pedy a V. P. este Irmão so pera se occupar nestas Christandades, parece que se deue contentar a Prouincia de Goa com hauer ja dous anos que lá está.

Cochym. 12. de Janᵉᵒ. de 1605. +

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. MANOEL ROIZ TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES.

(St. Thome, November 1st, 1606.)

Quando vim para esta terra, q̃ foi aos 3 de Setembro de 1606. a achei de brigas emtre os Portugueses, q̃ ha dous, ou 3. annos q̃ durão; tambem ha poucos mezes q̃ brigarão os

mesmos Portugueses, ô aqui morão com os gemtios q̃ estão fora da nossa cidade, orq̃ matando elles ha a hum Portugues aqui cazado, os Portugueses tomando disso grande paxão sayrão fora da cidade, e derão na pouoação dos gentios, q̃ estaua perto, Roubando tudo, e tambem em hua forataleza do Rey gentio, q̃ he o Rey de Bisnaga, a qual esta iunto da nossa cidade, e lhe poserão a fogo, com q̃ o Rey, q̃ esta daqui a 18. ou 20. legoas, ficou m^to sentido, e se mostrou arrufado ainda com os nossos padres, sen lhe querer mais falar ate agora: mas esperamos q̃ o tempo cure tudo, e q façamos boms concertos com o Rey, com q̃ fiquemos em paz. quanto as missoes deste Reino de Bisnagà, digo q̃ coforme a informação, q̃ tenho tomado dos padres q̃ la andarão ate agora, q̃ são os padres Belchior Coutinho e Simão de Saa, ha m^to poucas esperanças de conversão, por estarem estes negros muito obstinados naquelle diabolico fundam^to q̃ ia ha escreui a V. R. porq̃ aindaq̃ Reconhecem a nossa lei por boa, dizem q̃ tambẽ a sua he boa, e q̃ nella se poden saluar e q̃ nella querem Viuer, pois he conforme aos seus costumes, e de seus antepassados exct. em Chandregri ha 6 christaos, q̃ os padres ali fizerão, gente pobriss^a de q̃ os mesmos padres se seruião; agora ao presente estão limitados pera continuarẽ com estas missoes os p. Belchior Coutinho, e Ant^o. Rubino, e o irmão Bertolameu fontebona, q̃ he pintor, porẽ todos estão ainda neste Collegio, e vierão de là os dous p^es. por accasião do p^e. Prouiucial Alberto Laercio, q̃ uisitou este Collegio neste mez de Setembro, mas não foi visitar as missoes, ne el Rey de Bisnagá, por estar o mesmo Rey exasperado pollo q̃ aseima disse; e nem os padres irão atee se não fezerem os concertos, posto q̃ tambem ha outro impedim^to. a hirão, q̃ he não auer que gastar, porq̃ el Rey de Bisnagá ha 3. annos q̃ não lhes paga a ordinaria, q̃ costumaua darlhe os annos passados, e tem ja os padres das missoes m^tas. diuidas.....

Deste Collegio da pouoacão de S. Thome oie prim^o. de Nouembro de 1606.

Seruo em X.

\+
MANOEL ROIZ.

XIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(St. Thome, November, 4th 1066.)

O p. An^o. Rubino q̃ esteue huns dias en Velur e veo p^a qua doente. O Ir. Bertolameo fonte buone q̃ esta aqui

pintando e experando coniunção p^{a} q̃ se o Rei tornar a comunicação q dantes co nosco tinha va t mbem la assistir pois p este fim nosso p nos concedeo o p. Ant rubino e o Ir. Bertolameo marauillosos soieitos, esta mais o p^{e} João fe^{a} q̃ tem cuidado da Igreia da Madredepi e o p. P. mexia que corre co a fabrica da Igreia noua da Serã, e ha procurador do Colleg^{o}. Vinha taobem pa ir uisitar ao Rei mas não podeser pollo q̃ logo cortarei, leuoa taobem o p^{e} co sigo o p. simão de Saa q a todos nos deixou saudosos p q$^{=}$ fors aqui R^{tore}. e principiara a amizade co este Rei, esta missão de Bisnaga. Estaua o p^{e}. ao presente no porto de Baleacate sete legoas daqui p^{a} a parte de norte, e alli co gr^{des}. encontros de inimigos gentios e mouros traladado principio aq̃lla residencia, ateq̃ finalm^{te} achou o p^{e}. pr^{al}. q̃ couinha tirar lhe o p^{e}. p nao se fazer alli o frutu esperado, e pollas m^{tes}. iniurias feitas aos xpãos, e ao p^{e}. q̃ ultimam^{te} retiuerão hum dia com preja e aos xpãos, e nunca lhe derao sustentacao mais q ao principio e assim determino o p^{e}. pu^{al}. não lhe dar p^{a}. nenhum ate satisfazerem as iniurias e comprirem as condicoes prometidas : e pode ser q̃ tãobem se lhes procure algun castigo, pq̃ são tão inimigos q̃ ia por duas ueses indo p está a nao Olandeza alli a querião receber e os cometião p^{a}. desembarcarem e os meterem cò o Rei ; mas aretiarãose q̃ daqui lho impedissem, e taobem en Velur co o Rei negoceamos ollas p q p nenhum caso lhe consentissem o sairem en terra. fi se entao a nao a Mucule patao e alli deixou seus feitores e se partio p^{a} as partes de malaqua, na moncao en q daqui forao em Setembro os nauios p^{a} pegu e malaqua, queira Ds q̃ lhe não fosse algum cair nas nos.

Agora fuimos aqui p^{a} cedo uoltar para terra adentro, P^{e}. An . rubino p^{e}. Chamdregui, q̃ he hu P^{e}, de m$_{to}$. ser exçellente mathematico e theologo m^{to}. bo pregador m^{to}. uirtuozo...eu he dir p^{a}. Velur, onde este anno o Rei tornou a por sua Corte, e (eu) fui tambẽ là por ordẽ q̃ p^{a} isto tinha, e () q̃ o Rei nos deu dentro da 1^{a}. çerca de fortaleza hu casa e Igreja e aruorei a Sa + Sobre a porta, he isto nu(a formo)sa rua que uai de norte a Sul entestar co as paredes do paço. onde a Igreja he uisitada de m^{tos} . parentes do Rei amigos e uezinhos nossos q folgao de ouuir as cousas de Deus. Temos alli sinco xpãos () dos onze q̃ auia em Chandregui. co elles me consolo no meo dos desgostos e offenças qual foi este anno a guerra q̃ o Rei teue co os portuguezes moradores desta terra : e a occasião foi q̃ ẽ iunho passado soçedeo matarẽ aqui os (gentios) de noite a hu portuguez honrado a qual sẽ ordo foi a buscar hua moça q̃ lhe tinha leuado de casa hu soldadẽ do adigar ou gorvernador gentio resistio o soldado, ac oderao

de sua fortaleza outros p.^es. ẽ seu fauor, alançearão ao portugueze matarão. e ferirao hu seu cainhado. E isto ue a noua a cid^e amutinãose os homẽs. tratão de logo de noite dar na fortaleza, dis ẽos o capitão ate amanheçer en amanheçendo aiuntãose à do capitão, insistẽ q̃ saião sobre elles, repugnão os velhos da cid^e. dãolhe os P^es. conselho q̃ sobrestejão ate auizar ao Rei q̃ lhes ode dar satisfação. não estão de acorde a isto, pualecẽ os mançebos, saiẽ co o capitão q̃ mande (), poese todos em armas, saiẽ fora da cid^e. queimão a pouoação e fortaleza dos gentios, sendo ia o seu adigar de noite acolhido tornãose a recolher a Cid^e. Vão as queixas do adigar a Rainha faz elle mil lastimas ao Rei, elle saie fora poe se ẽ sua corte ()

De. S. Thome 4. de nouembro de 606.

BELCH.^e COUTINHO.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(St. Thome, November 4th, 1606.)

O Rei ai (ir) pera Velur co sua corte nos deu m^es. bom Sitio dentro na pr^a. cerca da fortaleza onde por nao ãdar como o anno atras mendigando por casas imprestadas fis casas, e Igreia e aruorey a S.+ sobre a Porta na frontaira dua formosa Rua q̃ uay dinante a Sul p' enestar co as paredes do Paço e asy a Igreia he uisitada de m^es. do Rei, amigos, e uisinhos nossos e tèmos ali sinco dãq̃les onsexpãos q̃ tinhamos em Chandregui co os q̃' me consolei no meio da perturbacão q̃ digo q̃ o Diabo aleuãtou a occasião foi de hua brega que cá os Portuguezes tiuerão co os Gentios originada da morte de hu Portugues ao q̃ de noite alancearão os Gentios, aqui fora da Cidade perto de sua fortaleza, e ueio a noua a Cidade amotinarão se os homẽs querião ir de noite dar na fortalesa detuue os o capitão ate o dia seguinte en amanhecido puserãose een armas forãose a porta do Capitão e preualecerão mais os conselhos dos mãcebos q̃ dos P^es. e ancioes de Cid mandou o Capitão tocar o sino sairão todos queimarão a pouoacão e fortaleza dos Gentios mandou logo o dtto' lugar o seu gouernador suas olas ou Cartas ao Rei mui falsas e a Rainha a qual por nossos peccados tè agora o Senhorio desta tr. ella sobre isto fes mil lastimas ao

Rei i o qual saio fora pos se e sua Corte lerão se estas cartas, não quiso o Rei ouuir a do P^e R^m. q̃ uia ẽ defesa da Cidade ficou tão embrauecido q̃ de cordeiro q̃ era na condicão ficou feito hu leão dizendo mil roncas q̃ auia asolar e destruir esta tr^a. nomeou capitaes p^a. este effeito disse q̃ não queria mais amisade co P^m. nẽ Portugueses, nẽ ter P^el. em seu reino e q̃ auia de chamar os Qlandezes etti. De modo q̃ disserão os seus q̃ nuca o uirão tão agastado ẽ toda sua uida como neste caso, e assi nẽ quis falar co nosco nẽ ler nossas cartas, nẽ deste Pouo, nẽ ouuir nenhuas resoes da parte dos Portugueses posto q̃ por nosso respeito ate agora desistio de mãdar exercito sebre esta tr^a. ja se trata de concerto quererà Ds. q̃ seia como for p^a. seu diuino seruiço. Co a uinda do P. Prou^al. nos aiutamos aqui co a occasião de uer ao P^e. como p^a. co nossa ausẽsa p^a. algu tpo significaremos ao Rei q̃^m se sentio o q̃ fes ao padre Nicolao Leuãto Reitor q̃ então era em não querer ouuilo por espaço de dous meses q̃ ali esteue nẽ tomar o presente q̃ leuaua ẽ nome desta tr^a., se fora pollo Rei ia isto estiuera asabado mas he tão sogeito a negra Rainha. a q̃le tudo gouerna, q̃ por lhe não dar disgosto quebrara co todo o mudo, e ella quis q̃ não teuessemos entrada ao Rei como dãtes ate cá de S. Thome lhe não darẽ os intereses de dr^a. e presentes q̃ ella espera em satisfacão do q̃ fizerão. O P^e. Prouincial escreueo () ao Rei dandolhe disculpa de o não ir este anno uisitar, e fis bem o P^e. Prouincial em não hir q̃ se ariscaua a não lhe falar. tambẽ o P^e. Nicolao Leuãto lhe escreueo de como esta aqui hu Caualo q̃ o Arcebpo. Gouernador mãda q̃ leue o P^e. a S. A. e como quer q̃ o Irmão desta Rainha ha te ia pedido ao Rei este Caualo p^a. (si) fes co elle q̃ escreuesse ao P. Prou^al. e a o P. Leuãto q̃ fossẽ co o Caualo, e assi iá escreueo duas Cartas sobre isto deixou o P^e. Prou^al. ordẽ q̃ fosee o P^e. como ca a tr^a. se concertasse co o Rei. Quererà Ds. q̃ seia luogo, e ẽtretãto temos pessoas de recado em velur e Chandrigui, p^a. onde ha de ir o P^e. Ant^o. Rubino emp^a. velur, e se o Rei tornar a comunicacão q̃ dãte tinha co nosco irá tambẽ o Irmão Bertholameu fuente buena pague N. Sr. a charidade de mandar p^a. ca a taes sogeitos o P^e. Rubino tão excellente mathematico e theologo, e o Irmão tao excellente Pintor ambos cheos de m^tas. uertudes e perfeicoes, as mais cousas, deixo & q̃ da Carta annua terá V. P. noticia de todas, e assy acabo pedindo a benção de V. P. naqual e nos s^a. Sacrifícios de V. P. peço ser encomendado. De S. Thome 4. de nouembro de 606.

Belch^or Coutnho.

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, November 5th, 1607.)

Passandas as festas de Natal e JESVS, nos tornamos p^a. a missão, o P^e. An^o. Rubino pera a de Chandegri; e o Irmão Berthalemeo fonte bona e eu para esta de Velur onde agora este Rei tẽ Sua Corte.....(Fr. Coutinho relates here the different signs of the royal friendship as they are already related in the preceding letters.) Agora faz 2. annos escreueo El Rei a V. P. nestas naos esperamos a reposta p^a. lhe ãpsenar, pode ser q̃ a traga o P^e. Prouincial q̃ detremina passar en fevereiro.....

De Velur 5. de nouembro de 607.

Minimo e xto. de V. P. Belch^or. Coutinho.

XVI

A LETTER OF Bro. BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, November, 7th 1607.)

Pax xpi

Não quis deixar de dar nouas de minha saude a V. P. e como estamos nesta Corte com m^a, minha consolação vendo este Rei q̃ nos mostra tanto amor q.^to se pode desejar. Não mando a V. P. nouas desta Residencia pq̃ o p^e Belc^or. Cout^o. com o qual estou juntamente soube q̃ tinha escrito na Carta anoa tudo meudam^te como V. P. vera, eu me ccupo cada dia pintando algua couza diante do mesmo Rei o qual gosta tanto de uer que não pode ser mais, e tenho lhe fe^to. alguãs imagẽs hu painel dua nossa Senra donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ passarãosse m^tas praticas Como o p^e Belc^or. Cout^o tera escrito, e fasendo m^to oferecim^to. de dadiuas não quisemos nunca aceitar nada pq̃ o p^e proul nas proibio que não tomassemos d^a. donde ficou tão espantado disendo pubricamente diante de todos os grandes que hu oficial tam grande que nuca lhe pedimos nada mas disse depois pubricamente que me queria faser homrras, e dise que Mandou faser hu par de manilhas douro Com pedrarias p^a me dar, e cuido que me dara no fim dua lamina q̃ actualmente estou fasendo em sua presença, e tambẽ lhe tenho f^to alguãs laminas pequenas

m^to bem acabadasem particular hua ôu Saluador, e outra dua N. Snora o qual estimou m^to e diserame q̃ o tem m^to bem guardada, e cada dia esta olhando por ellas m tempo. aquelle mesmo Sor, e Snora lhe queira abrir os olhos do coração p^a que lo adore, e lo reuerẽcie Como o merecẽ. diserãome como este anno vinha hu Irmão pintor m^to bom eu folguei m^to porque veyo a m^to bom tempo p^a acabar a casa professa de goa q̃ eu tinha comecada, e acabada a quarta parte e se se acabar sera hua das fermosas Igrejas que se poça ver. as cousas da india uão sempre pior em pior, e não faltão perseguicões m^to grande Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão nas suas obras porque os homẽs do mundo parece que la querẽ mais apaguar q̃ manter. Encomendo m^to a V. P. o meu Irmão e que lhe faça faser algu bom lauor porque sei q la de faser tam bem quanto qualquer outro q estejão em Roma. não serei mais comprido encomẽdado me m^to a V. P. e nos seus sanctos sacrif^os e deuotas oracoes m^to me encomedo Etc de Velur oss sete de Novenbro 1607.

f^o e seruo em xpo de V. P.

+

I BERTALOMEO FONTE BONA.

XVII

A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, November, 8th, 1607.)

M^to. R^do. in Chro Prẽ nro

Pax Chro.

L' ano passato scrissi à V. P., e li diedi noua di esta missione dil regno di Bisnagá nella quale mi ritrouo p ordine di V. P. com molta consolat^a. dell' anima mia, sperãdo nel Signore di finire i miei pochi ani, che mi restano di uita in qsta missione, s' i miei molti peccati no me l' impedirano. Doppo che sto in qsto Chãdregui, che sono gia. 10. mesi, battelai quatro, il primo de quali è um figliuolo di 12 ani, il qual' ha prese tat' odio a quest' Idoli, che fa () e confonde tutti qsti letterati, e mi dà moltiss^a cosola^a A detto sto catechizando. 8. p batteiarli questo natale col fiume diuino, e cosi andaremo facẽdo a poco à poco quello che potremo, aiutati della diuina gratia. e spero che doppo i pochi, uerrano molti. Jome ne sto soło in qsto Chãdregu Il P. Belchor Coutigno et il frllo Pittore Bartholomeo fontebona, se ne

stãno in Vellur doue al presente stà il Re, se bene jia di camino p qsto Chãdregui. faciamo quello, che potiamo p dilattare nra sãta fede, sed janua clausa est, et é necess^{a}. molta gratia di Dio p poterl' aperire, il nosrro officio sarà bettere, e no cessare di battere insin' a todo isto s' apra; ma poco ualerà il nostro battere esteriore, se Dio Benedetto no batte interiormẽte co le sue diuine inpsirati, como speriamo nella sua diuina misericordia, che farà. Jo he fatto un mappa molto grãde in lingua badagà co una longua dichiarat^{a}. nella stessa loro lingua ditt^{a}. le parti, prouicie, regni, e città pricipali di tt^{o}. il mudo e lo diede al Re, il quale resto stupito. feci ãche un breue tratato del numero, monumẽti, distãze, e grossezze de cieli. e lo diedi pur anche all' istesso Re, il quale lo uolse udir' a legere co molta attet^{a}. in presẽza di tt^{i}. i suoi letterati, i quali restorono co la bocca aperta uedẽdo la grãde differẽza che n' è tra la nra dottrina, e la loro, e la uerità della nra, e la falsitè de la loro. e cosi pian piano andaremo facẽdo uarie cose co la gratia diuina p alletarli piu in isto modo alle cose di nra sãta fede. Piaccia al Signore illuminarli gl'intelletti accio che si saluino, tutti No m' occurre pa detto, se noldimãdar humil^{a}. la sua sãta benedit^{a}. Di Chãdregui città del regno di. Bisnalga alli 8. di nouẽbro 1607.

D. VP

Indigniss^{a}. figlio in Chro

ANT^{o}. RUBINO.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Vellore, November 11th, 1607.)

Causarão m^{to}. sentim^{to}. as nouas q̃ ò anno passado escreuimos das dezauenças q̃ ouve antre este Rei e a cid^{e} de são Thome, da paixão q̃ tomara polla queima de sua fortaleza, e pollo conseguinte de nossa estada na mesma tr^{a}. ate auer comodid. pera tornarmos esta. Mudouse esta tempestade em bonãca, pq̃ depois q̃ soubemos estar aplacado segundo nostra em mandar hu nouo adigar e gouernador a São Thome, tirando dali aquelle q̃ com a morte do portugues fora causa das inquietacoes passadas, viemos emtão p cà em Janeiro ó Irmão Bertolameu fontebona e eu, entre as mais cousas que demos de presente al Rei, asertou de uir hua Bacia de bollo de doce q̃ tinha Ido ao Colegº na festa de JESV, hera obra

engenhosa hu pilicano, e os f^s. entao lhe disse eu na lingoa que ate antão os moradores de São Thome estauão como mortos por não terẽ por si a graça de S.A. Depois q̃ Como pai mostrara do peito () q lhes, tornarão Como f^s. a uiuer a semelhança dequella aue eti. festejou isto pq̃ são homẽs de Comparacoes. Apresentei o Irmão disendolhe como vieia de longe mandado por N. P. gerão p^a pintar a uista de S. A. estimou isto m^to. pedio logo ao Irmão q̃ lhe mostrasse algua Cousa de sua mão, não tinha por emtão mais q̃ os 2 retratos de nossos BB. PP. quando el Rei os uios, ficou pasmado, não pode crer q̃ o Irmão os fizera, a que lhe eu disse ser testemunho: perguntou se a sua uista poderia faser outros Como aquelles: respondeo que sim posse ẽ efeito. hu painel grande por sua ordẽ os foi debuxando gostando o Rei de uer a ligereza com que o Irmão o fasia quando foi a pintura em obra de hora e m^a. Repatou o Rosto do B. P. Ignacio, ficou pasmado el Rei e indose pa dentro lhe mandou logo hu Rico pano dourado ao modo de suas honrras custumadas. foi cotinuãdo com a pintura, e com esta ocasião lhe fomos disendo as principãis cousas e maraiulhas, e uirtudes do B. P. ignacio i do B. P. fr^e os quais folgaua m^to. de ouuir e ficara os sus conhecidos nesta Corte este dous S^tos., queirão ser intersessores p^a. sua conuersão fez tambe o seu retratoe com ser elle e si m^to graue todauia pera este efeito se mudou do seu lugar e pos no q̃ hera mais conforme p o irmão o ir Retratando—Depois tambẽ a sua uista, e peticão fes hu painel de Virgẽ N. Senora com seu Diuino f^o. nos peitos e da outra parte o s^to. menino Bap^a. e detras o s^to. Josept comforme a estampa q̃ tinha uista, ficou o painel perfeitiss^o e esta posto nu alto de fronte do lugar onde cada dia el Rei fala com os seus, ou le com os bramenes letrados, os quais lhe quisera diser que p^a que era estar ali aquelle painel f^o. pollos xpãos. eti. a o q̃ Respondeo o Rei, esta alcatifa em que eu estou asentado, e uos tambem, não ueola das tr^as. delles pois porque se estamos nela não pode estar ali aquelle painel; esse veludo de uos tendes na Cabeca essa Culaya q̃ he a seu modo Galteiras não ueo tambe de sua tr^a. ? m^tas. outros passos ouue semelhantes em que mostrou o amor q̃ nos tem. Como foi hu em que estando falando com o Se tatachare q̃ emtre elles he como Sumo Sacerdote diante de quem o Rei estira por tr^a. postoque que he indigno Deste officio por seus vicios. foi o Re. louuando os p^as. de serẽ Saniaces; religiosos e castos a o que o tatachare como ministro do Diabo Respondeo se os p^a. são Religiosos porque resão comẽ carne ? ainda q̃ comẽ carne, disse o Rei, todauia são castos, e não tem molheres. Resposta que se a elle quisessem tomar por si, lhe quadraua

m^to^. bem, porque tem m^tos^ em caza; e he daquelles que engoliao o camello em xotando os mosquitos—outro dia se oferesceo larga pratica de cousas de Ds q̃ el Rei foi ouuindo m^to^. de uagar os 10. Mandam^tos^. e a explicacão delles, disendo o noso lingoa tratando do p^e^. Como so auia hu Ds verd^e^.; e todos os mais herão Diabos, calouse El Rei nada Disse. porẽ os bramenes lhe dizião p. que era ouuir isto? ao que Respondeo que hera couza boa e era bem ouuila—tambem se alegrou m^to^. de uer os liuros de Imagẽs q̃ o Irmão lhe mostrou specialm^te^.o do p^e^ nadal uendo huã ẽ huã todas as folhas perguntando meudam^te^. o q̃ hera, e folguando de ouuir tão altos mist^os^. e pque o seu mestre bramene quis embicar nos da paixão sendo hu daquelles a q̃ S, Paulo dizia que parecia stultitia o nosso lingoa o foi conuencendo com hist^a^. de seus falsos tão indignos de Diuinid^e^. e lhe declaramos como aquelo era extremo de amor o que Deus humanado chegou por nas saluar. E Rei ouuia tudo e calauasse, não se tomãdo de ouuir falar mal de seos idolhos e pagodes. Deus os alumie e todos p que se saluẽ—a o presente a sua petição lhe uai o Irmão pintando em laminas. E são infinitos os louuores q̃ tem deto do Irmão.—Deixo outras couzas e cazos particulares que aqui aconteceraõ, porque por extenso o puzemos nos apontamentos q̃ aqui forão p carta annua—Em Chandrigri esta o p^e^. Ant^o^. Rubino fazendo m^to^. seruico a Deos, o P^e^. e o Irmão cà Ambos m^to^. uirtuosos continuam^te^. me emfundẽ tem o p^e^. Baptizado algus e uay seguindo o selho e feruor do bom p^e^. Fr^co^. Ricio q̃ Deos tẽ Ca ueo o p^e^ Antonio Rubino e uisitar a El Rei dandolhe de presente hu mapa escrito en letras Badegas e ali huã descripcão por extenso dos Reinos principaes, e dos 4 elementos, e dos doze Ceos q̃ folgou m^to^. de ouvir ler, e preguntou m^tos^. couzas curiosas de mathematica o que o P^e^ Respondeo excelentem^te^., Estes dias teria o p^e^. que fazer com o cometa q̃ apareceo ẽ outubro p aparte do ponente mouendose ad motum primi mobilis, aja Deos misericordia de nos, e deste Reino q̃ esta perdendo da uida del Rei ja m^to^ velho, e con m^tos^ sobrinhos q̃ pretendẽ soceder...

De Velur 11. de nouembro de 607. De. V. R. indigno em Christo filho.

Belch^or^. Coutinho.

XIX

A LETTER OF Bro. BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES.

(Velore, November 11, 1607).

Pax xpi.

Queria escreuer a V R alguas nouas deste Rey de bisnaga mas como sube que o p^e Belc^m Cout^o. tinha escrito a V R, e dado relação de tudo não tocarei nisto senão dando nouas demim, e de minha saude A Deos louuores, estou ao presente neste Velur jontamente com o p^e Belchior Cout^o. ocupandome em pintar alguãs cousas cada dia no paço diante do Rei oqual mostra tanto gosto em uer me pintar q^m. q̃ eu tenho desejo de lhe dar gosto porque he hu Sor de grande respeito, prudencia, intendimento Como qualquer eoropeo, E mostranos tanto amor que he espanto. Muito curioso de praticar de nossas cousas, e imparticular de Nossa sancta fé Como V R sabera nas carta anoas q̃ o p^e la mãda Desta Residencia, e Nos tem tanto amor, e respeito, e nos homrra que os seus vassalhos espantão, Como foi em particular hu dia estando eu doente soubi q̃ o Rei auia de sair fora do paço fui a uisitar antes q̃ saisse, e saido pera fora me opresentei diante dandolhe de minha mão hu vidrianto Cheyo de Agoa Rosada parou, e tomou o vidro na mão & comecou a praticar Comigo disendo Como eu estaua m^to. magro e amarilho e ou nas palauras mostrando sentimento de minha doença. O dia segumte indo correguandome mais a doença fuime nec^o. ir p^a São Thome p^a me curar aonde estiue quasi dous meses, e a doenca hera do fasti(go) m^to. grande Sobindo o Rei que eu não milhoraua nada mandoume hu regimento como me auia de curar, e soubimos tambẽ q̃ uiyo por uia da Rainha. Depois de sanar tornei p^a este Velur comecei a pintar hu painei duã N. Snora donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ pasarãose m^tas praticas Como o p^e. Bh^m Cout^o. tera escrito, e fasendome m^tos. oferecim^tos. de dadiuas mas como o proul nos proibio q̃ não tomassemos dr^s. nao quisemos aceitar, donde ficou tam espantado que pubricam^te disia parate os seus gra^des. q̃ nunca lhe pedimos nada e sindo q̃ esta gente he tam inclinado a pedir q̃ he cousa pasmosa. tambem tenho feito ao Rei alguãs pinturas em laminas em particular du Saluadr: e N. Snora que tinho f^to. p^a mim p^a dar algum padre leuamos lhe a mostrar folgou m^to. de uer e leuou p^a dentro a mostrar a Rainha, e nunca mas tornou, soubemos depois q̃ o tinha guardado num Caixão. donde tem as suas joyas m^to bem cubertas e cada dia o tiraua

fora olhando m^to^ tempo por ellas queira aquelle mesmo Snor e Senora que tudo pode, abrirlhe os olhos do coração p^a^ que lho reuerencie e adore como o merecẽ. a o presente disem q̃ o Rei fas faser Duas manilhas douro com pedrerias p^a^ me dar q̃ hẹ aos seus modos faser grande honrras dar manilhas, joyas Culares o outras cousas semelhantes. estou agora fasendolhe outra lamina diante delle que me pidio q̃ lhe fisesse porque me queria uer pintar cousas pequenas, por isto peço a V R q̃ me mande algum pinceis daquelles pequeninos q̃ sejão m^to^ bos. Diserãome q̃ uinha hu irmão pintor framẽgo m^to^ bom com oqual folguei porque hira acabando a Igreja Noua de Caza professa q̃ eu tinha comecada que si se acabar a de ser hua das bellas Igrejas q se poça uer mas duuido que se acabara tam depressa por que a obra he tão grande que não podera acabar hu so em quinza anos. não mos faltão enfad^os^ m^tos^. e perseseguicoes. Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão na sua obra porque os homẽs do mudo parece que la querẽ mais apagar q̃ manter não me estenderei mais Nisto porque o sabera mais meudam^te^. Encomẽdo m^to^ a VR o meu Irmão, e o ajude fazerlhe dar algua obra boa pq̃ sei q̃ o sabera fazer perfeitam^te^ como qquer outros. não se ofrece mais Destas partes. Rogo m^to^ a VR. que me encomende a o p^e^ Joseph de fano, e a todos os p^es^ e Irmãos e emparticular a o Irmão Juliano pasagnano a la su deuota oraciom. nos sanctos sacrif^os^, e deuotas oracoes de De V R m^to^ me encomẽdo. de Velur aos onse de Nouẽbro de 1607.

Minimo Seruo em xpo de V R

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I Bartolomeo Fonte bona

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVIA.

(Cochin, November 20th, 1607).

Nas Residencias de Bisnagá se uay contimuando co a couersão, q̃ o bo P. Fr^co^. Ricio tinha comẽçado, e o p. Antonio Rubino em Chandrigry tẽ ja feito algus xpãos de nouo, como elle escreuera a V.P. E pera o p. Belchor Coutinho fallar, e tratar as cousas de nossa s^ta^. fè co el Rey, foy grande meo o Ir. Pintor Fontebona, q̃ he a el Rey e a todos muy aceito, e uiue là co m^ta^. edificação e exemplo, e merece p

A my pareciame poderia ajudar na

qlles Reynos muito mais se fosse jutam^{te}. Sacerdote, elle sabe latim q̃ basta: verdade he q̃ nuca elle me fallou nisto nẽ directe nẽ indirecte, nẽ nhua outra pessoa p elle, nẽ exerguey nelle q̃ disto tiuesse imaginção nhua; mas eu som^{te}. cuidey nisto ha ja algus anos, p me parecer fara co isto m^{to}. mais serviço a Nosso Sor, e na Prouia cuido não auerà disto nhum escandalo nos outros Ios coadjutores, p estar elle na qlles terras tã separado dos outros, e co tã differente ministerio, e não seberẽ por uentura em q̃ estado seja recebido na Com^{a}. Se a V.P. parece bẽ mandar esta licença, pera my tenho serà pera gloria de Nosso Sor, e mayor bẽ dqllas almas.

Al P. Roberto Nobili mandamos p^{a}. a Residencia de Madure agora faz ano e meo, pera se perfecoar na lingoa dqllas partes, e prouarmos se se podia dar algu principio a algua conuersão na qlles Reynos...

Cochim. 20. de Nouebro de 607.

D. V. P.

Inutil filho e S^{uo}. em Chro

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ALBERTO LAERCIO

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO VICO TO Fr. PIETRO ANT. SPINELLI.

(Cochin, December 9th, 1607)

Il Re di Bisnagà ogni giorno piu s'affectio na alle cose di Dio, et da licenza a nri che si deuidono i altre ..tà del suo Regno... di Cocci li 9 di xmbro. 1607.

D. V. R. Serui idigni i Cho.

ANT. VICO.

XXII

'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THF PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1604-1606.

(1607).

Ex his (*Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji*) Gingensis qui proxime regiam ditionem attingit, regnum in alios minores Naiches sub-diviserat. Horum unus cui Lingamanaiche nomen est, paucarum urbium dominus, adeo divitiis pollebat ac viribus, ut Gingensis ac Bisnagrensis impetum

sustinere se posse ratus, fisus Volurensis arcis munitionibus, diu neutri parere voluerit.

Itaque Rex Bisnagrensis Adelaraio suo (is est dux exercitus maximus) dederat in mandatis ut rediens in hyberna Ciandegirinum, Volurum inopinatam aggrederetur. Adelarayus non procul ab ea urbe cum exercitu iter habens, prima nocte aberrase se ab itinire simulans, cum tatam noctem maxima celeritate praecurisset, non potuit tamen ante lucem Velurum ita cum omni exercitu opprimere, ut detectis portis exclusus et globorum ferreorum imbre e tormentis exploso, moenibus amotus non sit. Dous menses, ruente imbribus coelo, sine ulla spe urbis potiundae, Velurum obsedit. Cum ecce tibi quadam die duobus adelarai militum praefectis qui Lingamanaiche amicitia, nescio etiam an sanguine conjuncti erant, Velurum ad colloquium ingressis, in reditu Linguamanaiche urbanitatis ergo, amicos extra portas deducens, ab adelarai militibus capitur, atque in castra vinctus adducitur, ibique amicis custodiendus traditur. Qui ubi evadendi spem sibi praereptam vidit, astu atque cuniculis rem aggreditur. Adelaraium oneratum promissis ut liberet obsidione Velurum hortatur, viginti leches post discessum se daturum pollicitur, quindecim auri, et quinque gemmarum et margaritarum, (continet autem Lechis pagodes centum millia, qui sunt nummi aurei nostrates centum quinquaginta millia). Adelaraius Lingamanaichis dolos odoratus, litteras ad regem mitti quibus eum Velurum evocabat, nunc esse tempus, aiens, at regium erarium adimplendi, et suae ditionis fines addita urbe munitissima porrigendi. His litteris Rex, qui antea ad exterrendo Naiches Ciandagrino fuerat; regressus cum infinita prope militum, aliorumque hominum multitudine, magnoque elephantorum numero, Velurum versus castra movit, quinto idus Januarias anni 1604 January 9th. Eo ubi pervenit, militum ducumque acclamationibus ac militari plausu exceptus, Lingamanaichem qui se ad pedes regis abjecerat, bene sperare jussit, tum Lingamanaichis filiis qui tormentorum explosionibus Regem ab ingressu arcis arcebant, ut arma ponerent, imperavit. Tunc Rex cum Regina urbem ingressi in regia Laingamanaichis e marmore, auro, gemmisque distincta, opere Corinthio, commorati sunt. Totus que in eo rex positus erat ut viginti Leches, quos promiserat Lingamanaichis exprimeret, Sub idem tempus, ineunte scilicet Februario, P. Franciscus Ricius Regem ut inviseret ageretque cum eo quaedam negotia, ad Regem Velurum se contulit, a quo perhonorifice exceptus, atque per quatuor menses retentus est ; diutiusque

remansisset nisi quodam Regis simulato Chandagrinum regressu deceptus praecurrisset.

Non multo post tempore P. Belchior Coutinho, recuperandae valetudinis gratia, quam amiserat, S. Thoma venit ibique mansit usque ad mensem Augustum; quo tempore P. Provincialis eo Regem Bisnagrensem Patresque tam S. Thomae quam Ciandragiri visurus appulerat. S. Thomae P. Provincialis paululum commoratus, quinto idus septembris exornatus muneribus quae Regi daturus attulerat, videlicet, Elephantus quem dono a Rege Jaffnapatano acceperat, cone venatitio, aliisque munusculis, Patri-bus Rectore, Belchiore Coutinho, et Emmanuele Fonseca comitantibus Velurum iter aggreditur, atque ex itinere, Puley veterem Patrum Collegii S. Thomae amicum ut viseret, Canjiverano transire decreverat. Hic est qui Superioribus annis P. Francisco Martino nostri Collegii Rectore, cum a Rege Tangiaorio oppido S. Thomae fuisset praefectus, captus Nostrorum praesertim Rectoris consuetudine, ejusque sanctitatem admiratus, ex Regiis vectigalibus que cives S. Thomae Tangiaorio solvebant, quotannis trecenos nummos aureos quibus nunc victitent Patres, in annos singulos Patribus regio nomine donaverat.

Hic, P. Provincialis iter subodoratus, certis locis qua Pater erat transiturus ut eum omni apparatu exciperent, sibi conjunctissimos quosque disposuerat. Prima itaque die cum Patres pervenissent Conducturum a Puley sororis filiis perhonorifice excipiuntur. Altero die pervenerunt Canjiveranum, que arx est munitissima Tanjaorii, magnificentissimi fane celebritate longe lateque maxime inclyta; quam arcem et alios amplius centum pagos Puley supra 40 annos administrat. Qui P. Provinciali aliquot leucas e sua familia virum nobilissimum obviam miserat, officii causa, et ut ad se spe eorum adventus exhilaratus deduceret; tum ipse sub nocte duobus militum milibus circumseptum, totidem ad arcis custodiam relictis, egressus est extra portas in planitiem satis amplam ibique duarum horarum spatium substitit, missis identidem exploratoribus qui scirent ac de Patrum itinere eum certiorem facerent, ac funalibus (nox enim iter habentes oppreseram Ubi pervenere, Pule senio facieque venerabilis, majoriqt). dignus imperio e suorum agmine procedens, taedariue funaliumque luminibus noctem superantibus, in P. Provumalis aliorumque complexus humanissimus ruit, iis benevncio tiae argumentis quae quivis Europaeus a sui amantmsilo christianae Reipublicae principe, posset optare.

Post mutua salutationis officia, Patres domum suam amplam atque magnificam deduxit, in ejusque parte accomodatiori, quam aulaeis tapetibusque constriverat atque ornaverat, collocavit. Ibi tres dies Patres subsistere coegit, quibus ea suae erga Patres Societatis propensae voluntatis argumenta dedit, ut plura aut majora ab alio Societatis studiossissimo expectare non possis.

Canjiverano Patribus Vellurum contendentibus, Rex qui de adventu fuerat certior factus, cujusdam pagi viri nobilissimi domum qui in arce Vellurensi, juxta domos regias habitabat jussit ornari, in quam deducti Patres, illico a Regia familia visitantur, eorum salutem ab eis nomine regio sciscitatura. Tum Ramana sororis regiae filius, nostrorum studiosissimus, per aulicos ac familiares suos Patres invisit, eisque cibaria opipare de sua mensa, uti Patribus Nicolao Levanti atque Francisco Ricio antea fecerat, missurum se dicit. Cui cum respondisset P. Provincialis Patribus comitibusque suis domi velle se cibos parare, tum ille verveces atque gallinas in magna copia, necnon batyrum et orizam aliaque cibaria, nondum parata, et paulo post aprum quem ejus frater ex venatione attulerat, misit ad nostros; tum ipse venit, easque benevolentiae significationes exhibuit ut eorum familiaritate diutissime usus videretur.

Altero die Rex suos P. Provincialem misit viserent, ab eoque sciscitarentur quando ad eum ingredi vellet. Quibus respondit Pater se elephantem qui Conjiverani, ut paulum quiesceret substiterat, expectare, qui ubi pervenit Pater significavit Regi, qui Optimatem qui illi est a secretis, Patrum amicissimum, cum magno comitatu misit, accitum quocum Patres ex hedris vecti venerunt ad valvas regiae. Descendit Rex in atrium ad excipiendum P. Provincialem, atque una ut videret elephantem canemque venaticum et alia quae attulerat. Tum secum deduxit in aulam sedemque in sella regia Patrem, sui Regni principibus stantibus in peristromati, apud se sedere jussit, a quo P. Provincialis petit ut alios etiam Patres sedere juberet, quod et fecit. Accepit hic P. Provincialem humanissime, maximis verae benevolentiae argumentis. Cumque Pater abeundi facultatem, eo quod tempus Coccinum redeundi ad accipiendas litteras ex Lusitania advenerat, peteret, nunquam sivit, addens nec Rgem Bisnagrensem nec Societatis Provincialem Praepositum decere, eum in primo statim congressu demittere. Ad haec habere se dicebat quiddam magni momentii tractandum, quod in praesentia tractari non poterat. Itaque illi perendiae condicit. Condita die adfuit Pater,

sed tanta in Regem moles negotiorum irruit audiendi, namque fuere legati Mogorenses, Idalcani, Gingenses, Tanjaorenses, ac Madurenses, aliaque tot negotia gravissima supervenerunt, ut non nisi sub noctem intempestam potuerit Patres audire, quos ubi hilare excepit, remotis arbitris, P. Provinciali ad aurem per interpretem significavit se ad novum Proregem Indiae, qui eo tempore sperabatur, mittere vele legatos, renovandae firmandaeque cum Lusitanis amicitiae causa, sed eos sine P. Rectore ab se nolle dimittere, itaque se etiam atque etiam rogare ut P. Rectori eundi cum suis legatis facultatem in scriptis relinqueret. Cui P. Provincialis respondit cum Proregis adventus certi nuntii venissent, tum se ea de re concilium capturum. Subdidit Rex: post istos nuntios, quis hic erit qui Rectori det facultatem eundi ? Nunc necessarium capiendi consilium tempus esse, postea neutri integrum fore. Tunc Pater Regis postulata concessit, quibus ille laetus Patri Rectori voce ut omnes audirent: Goam, inquit, cum legatis eundi facultatem habes, atque ita P. Provincialem officiis muneribusque cumulatum dimisit.

Hinc profecti Patres, relicto apud Regem Veluri, P. Belchiore Coutinho, venerunt Ciandegrinum, ubi P. Franciscum Ricium senio meritisque venerabilem, Badagarum linguae morum, ac religionum peritissimum, in excolendis Neophytis, ethnicorum sectis evertendis, X^mo^ religione propaganda, occupatum invenerunt

Illud etiam ad rem Xnam plurimum facit, nobilium puerorum schola Badagarum litteras sub ethnico praeceptore, nostris sumptibus nostrorumque moderamine discentium. Decet praesertim varias canciunculas, Jesu et Mariae laudes continentes, quibus teneri aetati sensim sine sensu X^mi^ pietas instillatur ...

Nunc Vellurum cogor reverti atque inde Regem P. Coutinho Chandegrinum deducer. Fuit Pater Veluri, Patrum Xnorumque causas agens, regemque omnibus officiis delinitum ahabens, a mense septembri usque ad Maium ; quo tempore Rex cum a Lingamanaichi magnum gemmarum ac margaritarum numerum expressisset, eum arce Velurensi spoliatum Ciandegrinum duxit in triumpho, de quo ipsius P. Coutinho ad Patrem Provincialem libet ctexere :

" Perrexi tandem (quod Dei benignitas fuit) incolumis Chandegrinum, quamvis ut in maximis caloribus fessus via, sed itineris molestiam comitum infinita

multitudo levabat; quorum aliqui, ut omittam pedites innumerabiles, essedae, alii equis et bobus, alii elephantibus bini vel terni vehebantur. Me quamvis uno die Rex praecessisset, tum eum antequam urbem ingrederetur, consecutus sum, nec enim ingredi voluerat, antequam Tripiti in celeberrimo fano, uti ante decessum voverat voti religione se solveret. Sexto itaque Calendas Junias * quatuor post ortum solis horis, hac pompa in urbem invectus est. Viam quã, per urbem mediam, erat transiturus, aulaeis ac festa fronde visendam, arcus etiam in magno servii variis coloris vestiti terni certo inter spatio dispositi plurimum ornabant Regem, praeter instrumenta bellica, tam ex aere cavo, quam tympana et classica. et praeter alia signa quamplurima, regium vexillum in quo ex auro leo et piscis depicti significant eum terra marique dominari Praeibant equites multi, ipseque Obraias, Regis socerus, aliique regni proceres auro gemmisque pellucidi. Ipse Rex una cum Connanaichi elephante pulcherrimo, croco toto corpore et capite, feoribusque ornato quem oloserico et culcita serica auro intertesta in qua ipse sedebat, gemmis ac margaritis contectus vehebatur. Non usus est corona regia quam habet maximi ponderis et pretii. Quidam ideo eum non uti ea corona dictitant, quod alii Reges statim ac capiti eam imposuerunt, morte immatura sublati sunt; alii ideo eam neque ad similes trimphos adhiberi autumant, quod nonnisi recuperatis regnis quae à superioribus regibus Mauri detraxerunt eam in triumpho Regem Bisnagrensem ferre mereatur. Cum ita in triumpho veheretur, hilares oculos benevolentiae indices, circumquaque in subjectam conjiciens multitudinem, forte nos vidit pompam spectantes, nobisque arridens, tum ad Cinnanaichem conversus, nosque ostendens, nescio quid cum eo est collocutus. Credo equidem Regem aspectu P. Francisci exhilaratum, quem jamdiu videre cupiebat. Nos praetereumtem usque ad Regiam secuti, iterum eum ex elephante descendemtem vidimus. Hic Rex in aura sella ab Adelaraio urbis praefecto, ut mos est munus accepit. Tum alii proceres Regem venerati discedebant. Nos etiam accessimus et quidem P. Franciscus Ricius ei cyathum e vitro inauratam quem ad id servaverat, obtulit, atque ita domum revertimus." Haec P. Belchior Coutinho.

Patres ad Bisnagrensem Principem uti superioribus annis praescriptum est, inopia mittendorum, nondum iverunt. Instat tum quotidie importunis litteris nec ullum finem facit

* May 27th.

evocandi, et Provincialis, cum esset Ciandigirini ei Patres se propediem missurum promisit, sed nondum stetit promissis, quia quos mittat cum maxime cupiat, non habet. Unas ipsius Principis ad Patres Chandagirinenses litteras opponam, et hanc residentiam absolvam.

" Anno Subaratutii, mense decimo, decimo post plenilunium die, Litterae Trimalaragi, Ramaragi filii, maximi principiis, ragi inter ragios, datae ad Patres Ciandagrini. Accepi vestras litteras quas mihi per vestrum Tagium misistis, easque abscondi in praecordis. Accepi etiam munera omnia; gavisus sum vos de meo istuc adventu apud regem et principes regni studiose agisse. Vos cum hàc Goam iter haberetis, dixixtis vos huc ad commorandum propediem venturos. Miror nondum venisse. Veniant, oro, ne morentur. Cetera meus legatus ore ad os loquetur."

XXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, October 11th, 1608.)

Pax Christi.

Ô anno passado escreui a V. P. as nouas destas partes, mas como quera q as naos forão de Goa, e nehua de Cochin, pode ser q as cartas ficarião em Cochim pera onde as encaminhe, e q este anno uão. Nestas darei nouas do mais q este anno acaesçeo, e encaminhoas p^{a}. Goa por terra, pera q não foça da ficarẽ como as outras. Estamos de saude Deus seia louuado, aqui en Velur o irmao Bertolameo fonte boa e eu, e em Chandregri o P^{e}. Ant^{o}. Rubino, onde faz m^{to}. seruiço a Deus () E posto q algus delles se desgarrarão por uarios seruos dos mesmos gentios, todauia ao menos fica sempre aqlle cazal de () he nomeado q sempre se mostrou alegre firme e perseverante ne fee, () ven serue. Ca en Velur temos tambẽ outra familia daqllas em Chan(dregri) bautizadas, e pcuro o q. posso de os mouer o q sabem () q ()rao e continuar alegria, etc. De nouo este anno bautizei hu uelh(o) dia de N^{a}. S^{a}. da assũmçao, he de 100. annos, e dizẽ q não adorava os idolos (mas) hu so Deus q lhe demos a conhecer como fez S. Paulo aos areopagitas. E pof(r quem) dantes sospiraua m^{to}. pollo bautismo, ao dia q tinhamos conçertado ()

e assim o bautizei, sendo padrinho hum mercader portuguez q ueo aqui uender esmareldas a este R(ei)...

As mais nouas deste Reino são q o Rei este anno passado em ianeiro abalou daqui e foi a Ginga q està daqui 2 dias de caminho e () foi q tendo ido seus capitães diante a conquistar as terras do Naique de Ginga porq tardaua na paga do tributo e indose acercando a fortaleza, quis Deus castigar aqlle Naique q nella estaua como hu epicuro e brutal nao tendo menos q mil molheres dentro no paço; e sese deixara estar na fortaleza, ninguẽ podera co elle porq he quasi inexpugnauel; çeguro a paixão sahio fora contra os capitães do Rei, e os seus co medo o desenpararão e foi () ficando o ditto Naique catiuo, a quẽ dando as orelheiras, a quẽ as (joyas) do peito porq. o nao matassẽ. foi a uictoria dia de IESV *como depois dissemos ao mesmo Rei; e a meia noite veo cà a noua roando, () El Rei e foi a Ginga, o Naique catiuo se lhe deitou aos pees, e por meo da Rainha, e seus irmãos se concertou a lhe pagar 60 () mil cruzados, e pª. á Rainha largar a fortaleza de Cauaripa(tão) aqui perto; e co isto se recolheo outra uez o Rei cà pª. Vel(ur) e o Naique de Ginga sentido da perda de sua renta e de seus elephantes () foise como da çere perigrino a Cirangã hu seu pagode dizendo q não queria mais do mando etc. mas os 2 Naiqu(es) seus amigos o de Madure e Tangior lhe derão mtas. dadiuas e fizerão q tornasse pª. seu estado o qual possue.—Este (anno) ueo o P. Prouª. da costa da pescaria a uisitar esta, e () a S. Thome onde o Pª. a todos nos consolou...T(ambẽ) ueo a S. Thome o nouo Bispo mandado por S. Sde. e por S. (Mde.) E o P. Rtor. lhe fez mtas. gazaihado ẽ nossa caza na qual (esteue), e dalli por onde do Pª. foi leuado a pee co mtas. (honrra) e festas de danças, folias, disos, por arcos, etc.—Corre (sua) amizade co nosco. Todas estas materias deixo pª. os Pes. q (naqllas) partes residẽ. E torno a estas ẽ q estamos. Poucos (dias ha) q os Naiques de Tangior e Madure mandarão ao Rei seu tri(buto) de 500. mil cruzados e mtas. uariedª. de psentes de ()-pª. receber isto se poz de festa todo ẽ si cheo de (ouro) e pedraria. e no aroia q tinha no peito de q.) ual 100 m(il) cruzados, assistimos a este acto, por priuilegio e licença do Rei; (o qual) sempre se mostra amigo, posto q ha mtas. q não se nos paga a (renta) nos te ordenado, p. a qual agora lhe pedimos os ()tos en olas, queirão () outra paga q os Naiques lhe hão de faze . queria Deus q decess()pois o Pª. Rº. (q se e não outro poderia

*January 1st,

dazela) estes annos () sua industria e m^ta. charid^e.— tambẽ o irmão esta disgostozo p(orque) o Rei não differe a pintura, e telhe pmetido m^tas. cousas dẽ () e monilhas, etc. ẽ tudo sahio mintirozo como o he estados; es() assim q dantes era tão liberal q̃uando menos p^r. Chandregri () posto a privazou a Rainha ase feito tão escaçeo ou este o fica co () q todo mundo se queixa deste parentes seus, e soldados, etc.-n() chamar p^r. cà nẽ ouvir falar a Trimalarayu o Principe, o qual de(sde Ciran)— gapatão onde esta, sempre nos escreue olas e nos chama e mostra por escrito (a) mesma amizade q ẽ presença mostrou quando nos agazalhou in(do) p . Goa co os embaixadores deste Rei. E a mesma nos mostrou co seu sogro e () q he a caza q ha de montar m^ta. no tpo de seu gouerno. Fizemos este anno as festas do natal co hu lindo psepio...

De Madure tera V. P. nouas daqlla missão, naqual não ha q notar mais q o grande fto co q o P. Ruberto e tanta adificação se entrega alli ao servico de Deus disfarçado etc. q no mais he como cà, e nẽ tanto ainda, pois he gente peior...

De Velur 11. de outubro de 608.

De V. P. Minimo f^o. em Christo

BELCH^r. COUT^o.

XXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, November 20, 1608.)

Pax Chri.

Quatorze naos partirão na fim de Marzo passado de Lisboa pera estas partes co o Visorei o Conde da Feria, co m^tas. mil soldados, q̃ se chegarão todas estas naos e gente, fora o remedio da India, e alevatara este estado cabeça, q̃ esta quasi todo perdido co estes anos do gouerno do Arcebispo frade; e co tantas naos Olandesas quãtas estes anos andão passeando p estes mares do Oriente, se auer que lhe uà á mão, co ellas fazerẽ q^ta. querẽ em tudo; Mas parece q̃ Ds. não foi seruido disto, pq̃. hu galeão dos 14 appartãdose do Visorei chegou a Mocãmbique ẽ Agosto, onde achando huas treze naos olandezas, q̃ tinhã posto de cerco a nossa ortaleza, depois de pelejar hu dia foi dellas tomado; pollo

qual sabendo os olandezes q vinha o Visorei atras, leuatarão o cerco; (postq̃ nelle lhes foi m^to. mal, e murrerão m^tos. sẽ faser nhum mal a Fortaleza p os nossos se defenderẽ, e pelejarẽ ualerozam^te.) e se uierão p. Goa, puse na barra; onde estando, ouue nouas q̃ hua nao nossa p nome nao Oliueira da Comp^a. do Visorei tinha tabẽ chegado, e estaua seis legoas p. o Norte a uista da terra, forão de Goa nauios, tirarão o dinh.^o e todo o fato de cima, e antes q̃ os olandezes chegasse a ella, os nossos lhe puserão o fogo, e ardeo toda, p. os imigos se não aproueitare della; Das outras dose naos co o Visorei até oje se nac sabe noua nhua, q̃ he cousa q̃ a todos nos magoa, nẽ parece podera ja uir se não ẽ Mayo, p terẽ já começado os Leuãtes q durão estes seis mezes; Não parece isto se não castigo de Ds, q̃ ainda se não acabou, pq̃ na verdade nesta vinda do Visorei co este socorro estaua o remedio de todo este estado; seja o Sor p.^a sepre louado...

Cochin 20. de Nouẽbro 608.

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 30th, 1608.)

As Residencias de Bisnagá, onde estão os dous P. Belchior Coutt., e Antonio Rubino E o irmao Bertolameu fontebona muy aceitos a El Rey, e a toda aquella Corte; tem feito algus Christãos, mas não tantos como desejauamos, e ainda estes este ano co a perseguiçao de hu Gouernador de Chandrigry tiuerão bem de trabalhos, e el Rey como he muito velho, postoq' tem muita bondade natural, e partes grandes com tudo, não acode; as guerras e inquietacoes q' este ano teue, tambem adjudarão a isto ...

Cochin. 30. de Dezembro de 608.

D. V. P.

Inutil f.^o em x.^o

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXVI

'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1606—1607.

(1608.)

He Madure cabeça dos estados do Naique; oqual posto que não tenha titᵒ. de Rei, se não de capitão que isso quer diser Naique seu poder he muito grande, i tem reis tributarios sendo o ele tambem ao emperador de Bisnagar cuio capitão antes era, e seleuantou com os estados que gouernaua; quando o emperador em hua rota perdio o imperio, E tornando depois recuperar parte delle, este de Madure, e os dous de Tanjaor e de Ginja lhe derão obediencia, e pagão parcas em sinal de Vassalagem: porem são absolutos, e mui poderosos, porque cada qual tẽ tresentos elephantes de peleia, a fora a gente de cauallo a pee...

O nouembro passado de 606 passando po aquella residencia o Pᵉ. provincial deixou nella o pᵉ. Ruberto Nobilli por companhrᵉ. do padre Goncalo frz assi pera aprender a lingoa da corte mais pollida, como porque a cansada velhice, e as doenças do padre pedião Socessor...

Custumão os padres assi nesta residencia como em Chandeguerim aser escola de ler e escreuer em Badaga com mestre gentio posto por nossa mão pera que se uão affeiçoando os animos tenros dos mininos aos padres e os cousas de Deos...

Pertencem ao Collegio de S. Thome sete da Compᵃ...ha mᵗᵒˢ. annos que esta Cidade anda reuolta com bandas a modo de guerra ciuil: sem te lhe poder dar remedio algum por estar em trᵒˢ. de Rei gentio e longe da corte, e a iustiça e capitão não ter poder d'armas pera prender, e castigar os malfeitores; com tudo muitos males se atalharão por meio dos nossos, hua sesta frᵃ. de quaresma tratou o pᵉ. pregador com tanto espirito, e zello sobre os odios, e brigas que o principal de hum dos bandos que ouuio a pregação, e tinha vindo com muita gente de armas, e espinguardas, se abrandou de maneira que logo determinou deixar o odio, e pretendeo amisade com seo contrario como fes na Igreia Matris do Apto. de S. Thome restituindo cada hum todas as perdas e danos q tinha feito, e confessandose com mostras de arrependimento, e emenda, ao presente não ha odios, nem brigas...

Está á cidade de S. Thome nas tr . del Rei de Bisnaga, e posto q̃ os Portugueses tem capitão, e ouuidor que os gouernem, e administrem a iustiça; em outra pouoação apartado e vecinha esta hum capitão do Rei que arecada os direitos, e gouerna os gentios; hum Portugues hua noite foi co armas a sua pouoação p^a. buscar hua moça que lhe tinha fugido, e armandose la hua briga foi morto. Os parẽtes pedirão vingança ao capitão, o qual aiuntando muitá gente d'armas foi dar na fort^a. del Rei, e porque o Adigar se acolheo, lhe pos o fogo, destruindo m^ta. parte da povoação, e matando algua gente mesquinha, chegou a fama deste aleuantam^to. a el rei; o qual sentio muito á fronta que lhe fiserão em lhe queimarem sua fort^a. allegando se o Adigar tinha culpa lhe fisessem queixume que elle o castigaria. Os moradores de S. Thome areceando que o Rei mandase exercito p^a. lhe por cerco; pedirão ao P. Reitor Nicolao Leuanto que fosse ter com El Rei p^a. com resões, e presentes o aplacar; sabendo o Rei da sua vinda lhe mandou diser q̃ se queria tratar cousas dos p^es. que leuaria muito gosto em lhe fallar; porem tratar dos negocios de Maleapor, não era resão tendo lhe feito tão graude afronta ne menos auia de recebir seus presentes, com tudo pouco a pouco se foi abrandando, e como de sua naturesa he manso, e benigno; mandou depois chamar o p^e. e com mostras de muito amor o recebeo e concedea tudo o que pedia, tirando aquelle Adigar ou capitão da fort^a. e pondo outro a uontade dos Portugueses...

Em Velur reside o padre Belchior Cout^o...

Em Janr^o. de 607 foi mandado o Irmão Bertolameu Fonte Bona.

XXVII

A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, September 30th, 1609.)

M^to R^do in Chro Pre nro

Pax Chri

Gl' ani passati a scrissi a VP. il stato di qsta missione del Regno di Bisnaga, do() mi ritrouo co gradiss^a. mia consolat^a. se bene l'essere la porta si chiusa al Euangello, causa non picolo dolore. Al presẽte io inteme co il frllo Bartholomeo fontebuona, che molte uolte pinge auãti il Re ho cura d' ambe due qste residenze di Vellur, e Chandregui o cosi sto un poco in un luogo, et un poco nell' altro: La

causa pche no tiamo dui Padri in qste due residenze, è p no tiuere co che sostẽtar li, pche sono gia 6. ani, o piu, ch'il Re no ei paga ne ei dà un quatrino, se bene i giorne passati diede il Re al frllo la ualuta di cento scudi d'oro p coprare colori. Adetto dice, che li farà pagare mille scudi ma Dio sa quello, che serà, pche di loro si po dire p(ro)ssima: che mẽdaces filii hnum, e qui no dice bugia fra loro no è huomo. Il stato della Christianità in qsto Regno e l'istenso che degl' ani passatti, p che no battelai, se no un figliolhino d' età di 4. ani, che racolhi in casa co () de suoi parẽti; e quelli pochi Christiani, ch' abbiamo, che sono 15, dano si mal odore di se, ch' io mi risolhi, à no uolhere battellare () s'il Sig^{r}. no li chiama co particulare uocat^{e}., p che alchi^{ni}. defecerunt altri auãti mi si mostrano Christiani, in sua casa uiuono como Gentili. No si po crdere quãto chiusa sta la porta in qsto Regno alla sãta fede, e tutto cio nasse dall' auuers. et odio grãde che ei portano, p sapere che siumo sacerdoti delli portughesi, i qquali mangano carne di uacca beuono uinho () se bene noi in qsto regno abstinemus ab iis, co tutto cio basta isto nro uestito nero p che gli fughino et abhorrischino, come la peste, e basta come diceno il sappere che suome Sacerdoti delli Portoghesi. Per far alche frutto he neesss^{e}. p uestire mangare e nelle cose politiche trattare como lore in quãtu fieri potest e qsto sempre dissi al P. Prou^{le}. il quale ha animo di mãdarmi p isto Regno uestito al modo loro, a un luogo oue no seja conesciuto, m'il no hauere () ha ipeditti qesto disegno Il mutare uestiti in qeste residenze () è superfluo p che ja siamo conesciuti e fora co m^{lto} poco frutto cosi è è necess^{e}. andar in parte oue no siame conosciuti, in qsto si gran regno no mãca no. V P. ordene quello, che li parera piu espediente, che stãdo del modo, che stiamo, mais faremos cosa di momẽto. Il Re gia no ci mostra l' afetto che ci mostraua gli ani passati à psuasione di quest maladetti Bramani, che sono inimici capitali della nra sãta fede, de qual il Re è piu che schiauo. Le cose particulari di qsto Regno, e di qsta missione, scrissi al P^{e}. Prou^{le}, credo che lui informarà VP. p qsto io le scriuo finisco co dimãdarli humil^{te} la sua sata beneditt^{e}. pregãdole che si faci raccomãdare nelli ss^{ti} Sacrificii et orat^{i} della Compagnia. Nelli ss^{ti} Sacrificii di VP. m^{to} mi raccomãdo Di Vellur città del Regno di Bisnaga li 30. di Settẽbre del 1609.

D. V. P. MinimoFigliuolo nel Sig^{r}.

ANT^{o}. RUBINO.

XXVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 20th, 1609.)

Della Missione, et Residenza di Madurè.

Accio messo si possa intender quello, che Dio N. S. si è degnato di oprar per spatio di qsti tre anni in qsta missioni di Madurè, dal mesi di Nouembre dell' anno di 606, nel quale il P. Rub^o^. Nobili fu mandato a quella residenza, sino a qsto presenti di 609., he uoluto far qsta informatione, et perche sia piu chiara, repetiuo prima in breue, quello che gia si scrisse a V. P. nelle due annue passate; dipoi andarè seguitãdo quel' che nell' anno psenti è succeduto.

La città di Madurè, che sta lontana da qsta di cochino cinquantana leghe per la terra dentro, restando nel mezzo le alte montagne, chi si chiamano il Gatte, è Metropoli delli stati, et terre del Naiche, il quall' è molto gran' signore di molte terre, uassalli, et ricchezze, et è come uno de i gran' Duchi de europa et ancor che non tenga titolo de Rè, ma solamente di capitano, che tanto ual qsta parola Naiche, tutta uia tiene molti Re tributarii, com il di Trauancor, di Manamadurè, di Tengange et altri, essendo egli ancora tributario del Re di Bisnagà, del quale è capitano, et si ribello con li stati che governaua nel tempo, che il Rè di Bisnagà in una rotta persi l' imperio, et tornãdo dipoi a ricuperar parte di quello, questo Naiche di madurè, et li due di Tangiaor, et di Gingia gli resero obedienza, com pagargli tributo in segno di vassallaggio; ma tuttauia restarono signori assoluti, molto potenti, et di gran' forze, perche ciascun' di loro mette in campo 300. elefanti di guerra fuera della molta gent' a pie, et a cauallo.

Per causa de negotii de i Parauà com questo Naiche, che è signor della costa di Pescaria, son gia 17 anni che si fondo qsta residenza com casa, et chiesa assai buona, per dar' ancora con questo pretesto la prima luce dell' euangelio ai Badagà, i quali ben che restarono marauigliati della santità del Padre, et particularm^te^. della sua castità, non dimeno fuorono sempre disprezzando la legge che predicaua, come legge bassa, et uile, tenendo essi in questo concetto i Parauà et nostri Padri che la stanno per esser' Potughesi, li quali sono da loro stimati per la piu uile et bassa genti del mondo. Vero è che si marauigliano, et stupescono del soa animo, et

ualore, et dell' atti heroichi, et gloriosi che hanno fatto, et fanno in guerra, i quali si come fanno per fama, cossi esperimentassero nelle sue terre, il che per star molto dentro la terra non puo essere, formerano altro concetto de Portughesi. Si marauigliano ancora delle sua richezze, liberalità, apparato, etgentilezza nel uestire. Là onde intendo che la causa di formar aglino tal opinioni di Portughesi, fu il uederli beuer uino, et mangiar uacca, et lasciarsi toccare, et portare in lettica da i Parià che è tra di loro, genti abietta, et uilissima, la qual superstitione è in qsta gente inuiolabil', che una gente nobile non tocchi, ne tratti con altra men nobili; di manera che un Brameni si lasciara piu tosto morir di fame, che mangiar cosa fatta, o datagli per mano di alcuno, che non sia Brameni. Et per esser li gentili di Madurè venuti in questo concetto si basso del Padre che li dimoraua, in 14. anni di tempo non gli fu possibile far ne un solo xpiãno in una città si grãde, et populosa come è Madure, che diceuano che facendosi xpiãni perdevano la casta, et nobilta, et che si faceuano franghi, che cosi chiamano li Portughesi, et resteuano per sempre disonorati, et infami.

.....

()trattar, con quei gentili, et nuoui xpiãni, et del lore feruor, et molta capacità, che non mi parece ragione impedir il frutto, che chiaram^te. mostraua lo Spirito S^to. uoler oprar' in qlla gentilità, et cosi gli concessi piena licenza si Sdare alla scoperta, et di dar il battes^o; a tutti qlli, che fussero chiamati da Dio, senza timore di qllo che potrebbe auenire sperãdo nell' aiuto, et fauor Diu^o, gia che Dio N. S. l' haveua scielto por qlla impsa. Et pche penso, che riceveranno piacere di saper il modo del suo uestire, mãgiare, et trattar co quei gentili, lo discriuero qui breuemente.

Il uestito del P. Rub^to. è una ueste longa sino alle piedi, qual chiamano Cabaia, di color bianco ue o il giallo: sopra di qsta un' come roscetto di tela piu fina dell medesmo colo', et sopra il roscetto un' panno, o eosto, e dell' istesso color della cabaia; qual gle ua gettato per le spalle: in testa tiene un' panno di tela fina bianco a modo di berretta rotonda: a trauerso al collo un' cordone di cinque fili, tre di oro, et due di fil bianco, con una croce, chi gli viene a dar nel petto. Et cio fece il Padre per qsta causa, perche si come i Brameni, i quai sono i loro maestri in qsta guisa portano un cordone di tre fili, il qual' ancore che sia principalm^te: segno della sua stirpe, è ancora in alcuna parte segno della legge che insegnano, cosi ancora uole il padre portar segno della sua legge spirituale, la qual fa professione di insegnar come

publico maestro conforme al costuome della terra; perche li tre fili d' oro in un' cordone significano tre Persone diuine, et un sol' Dio, gl' altri dui fili bianchi, il corpo, et l' anima santiss^{a}. di xpo. N. S., et la croce è chiaro segno, di passione, et morte dell' iste(so.) Di maniera che in qsto cordone professa li misterii della della santiss^{a}: Trinità, Incarn^{ac}:, et Redentione, Quanto al uitto il suo mãgiare, che è una sol uolta il giorno alle 22. o 23. hore, è riso, legumi, herbe, latti, et per nessun caso ha da mãgiar carne, oui, ne pesce, perche i Gurus Saniassi, che professano castità, guardano qsta legge nel suo mãgiar inuiolabilm^{te}., ne per nesuna necessità, o infirmità per grave che sia despẽsano in carne, che qsti gentili si burlano di quei che dicono, che si puo consomar la castità mangiãdo carne. L' habitatione del Padre, è in una strada doue habitano la gente nobile; et per acgitar' maggior credito, non esci fuora di casa, ne pmette che altri lo ueggia, ne che gli parli qualsi uoglia psona, ne in qualsi uoglia tempo, ma dipoi, di ir la 2 o tre uolte et pregar il suo interprete, che lo lasci parlar con l' Aier, che è l' istesso che Signore, et finalm^{te}: dipoi di si uendere molto caro, conforme all' uzãza del paesi, et per maggior riputatione, essendo eglino introdutti a parlar col Padre lo trouano che sta sedendo in un' loco alquanto eminẽte, coperto con un panno rosso, e del color del vestito, auanti del quale sta distesso in terra un' altro panno rosso, et piu auanti una stoia di paglia fina. Tutti qlli che entrano, etiandio li piu nobili, et principali della corte, gli fanno riverẽza alsãdo le mani giunte sopra la testa, et dipoi abassãdole con una profonda inclinatione, et quei che uogliono esser suoi discepoli fono l' istessa ceremonia tre uolte, et dipoi si postrano in terra, et si tornano a star' in piedi. Impero il Padre la lingua Tamul piu polita et cosi ben la pronutia che gli piu periti Brameni nella lingua non gli leuano uantaggio. Sa legere, et scriuere nell' istessa lingua, et gia ha letto molti libri delle sue historie, et mandato a memoria le cose principali della sua legge, et molti uersi de i loro piu famosi, et rominati poeti, de quali essi fanno gran' conto. Impero ancora molte cansonette, le quali canta con tanta () et gratia, che causa a ciaschedun' che l' ascolta, ugual admiratione, et piacere. Va adesso studiãdo il guesedano, che è il latino de Brameni, et gia legge, et parla ragioneuolm^{te}:. Piglia comunem^{te}: occasione delle loro historie, p li confodere, et prouar che no possono esser molti Dei, ma un' solo, il quale è spirito, et non tien' corpo. gli ragiona a cosa della breuità della uita, della certezza della morte, delle pene dell' inferno, come fece particularm^{te}: a uno de 4.° gouernatori del Naiche, il qual

succese nello stato al suo frẽllo magior, che pochi di auan ti era morto, etfu quel che dono al Padre il piano per fabricar la nuoua casa, doue adesso dimora. Fu qsto signor gentile a uisitar il Padre p l' amicitia che co lui teneua, et fu mezano, accio il suo frello gli desce quel piano. Il Padre comincio il ragionam^to, con gli domãdar che era fatto del suo frello tanto nobili, et ricco, et da tutti stimato, et honorato, il quale per non hauer conosciuto la legge, et uia della salute, staua gia penãdo nell' inferno, et gli parlo di questa materia, con tanto feruor, et sp(iritu,) che il giouan^o. non potendo r g mesce il sentimento, et uolendo ritener le lagrime, prompe in un' singulto, c(on) tanta copia di lagrime, che tutta la sua gente resto stupita, et marauigliata, et maggiorm^te; il P. Rub^o. ueggendo (la) compuntione, et sentimento in un' petto gentilesco ; et la fede, et credito che daua alle cose, che gli diceua. Si parti il gioua(ne) desideroso di udir' altre molte le prediche del Padre, et pigliare il sentiero della salute, et promissi di farli dipoi di concludere alcuni negotii de importanza, perche va cercãdo settanta mila scuti per dar al Naiche per l' inuestitura dell stato del suo frẽllo, al quale il Naiche accrebbe altre terre, et ua essẽdo ogni giorno piu fauorito del Naiche, p esser gia uani di belle parti, et anco di tante forze, che alza con li mani () molto grande, et a fin di non le perdere tiene una sola moglera, il che li fara il negotio della sua conuersione molto piu ageuole.

Procuro ancora il Padre, che arriuase la notitia del' euang^o: alle signori di altre terre, et a qsto effetto mando il suo interprete, per nome Giorgio, a un' signore di Baraposano, che è una Prouincia lontana do Maduré () per la te(rra) dentro, al quale scrissi una lettera in che gli diceua, che quei solam^te: saluar'si possono, iquali cognoscono il vero Dio U(iuo) et esseruano la sua santa legge, et come egli staua apparegliarro per gli mostrat la uia che guida a la salute eterna. La resposta del gentile. La risposta del gentile migle si entendera per la copia della medesima sua lettera, che cosi dice. Fissãdo gl' occhi per qlla parte doue stanno li piedi de V. S. il suo schiauo Ciaruaviouallèm facẽdo riuerenza sriue, Ja tutto qllo che V. (S.) comanda sto pronto per seruirla sempre. He receuuto una sua con grãde piacere, et festa, in che me scriueua che des(i)deraua venir nelle mie terre, per m' insegnare il diuino secreto, et qsto fu il principal negotio che V. S. mi scrisse ; ma per ai ritrouar al presenti qsta terra con molte guerre, non puol' essere ; ma come si acquite subito mandare (a) nuoua alli santi piedi de

V. S., ei all' hora sia ella seruita di venire. Signor non riceua la sua uolunta alcun disgusto, per gli dir, che tardi un poco in uenire, per star la terra in guerre, et morte. Jo non so per qual () sorte sia accaduto, uoler V. S. venir qua : di tutto il successo gli mandaro de poi ragguglo con lettera.

Nella stessa forma mando una ill P. Rub^o. al Ré di Nana madura per inuitarlo, et ueder si uolesse udir le cose pertenecenti a sua salu(atione) come haueua auanti mostrato. L' interprete fu dal Re molto ben riceuuto, et tratto con lui delle cose di Dio, mostrand(o) gran' desiderio de ueder, et udir il Padre. In risposta della lrã disse, che haueua da uenir a Madurè per uisitare il Naiche, et all' hora commodam^te: trattarebbe col Padre ; et cosi lo fece, perche uenne il primo di Agosto, et tratto con i(l) Padre per mezano, et lo mando a uisitare per un sue Bramene con molti compimenti, et segni di amicitia mostrad(o) ogni di Maggior desiderio di egli stesso ir' a parlar col Padre sopra il negotio di sua salute ; ma per causa di una infirmità che gli sopravenne si no a hora non l'ha potute fare. Era qsto Re anticam^te: molto potẽte, ma hora il Naiche gli preso molto terre. E di buon ingegno, et molto desidera de si saluare. il che da grãde sperãze della sua conversione.

Fra gli xpiani che il Padre fece, uni si chiama Alessio Hatebe, come habbiamo gia ditto. Soleua la madre di qsto giouan(e) et suoi pareti en certo tempo far' alcune offerte all' Idoli ; et essẽdo gia uenuto il tpo vennroe i Brameni a dima(n)darle, ma come la mdre gia staua piu affettionata alle cose di Dio, che del Dem^o : gli mando in buona o mal' h(ora) et non gli diede cosa lacuna, del che non solam : i Brameni si lamentarono, ma ancora aminaciarono, che n() piglie ubbero buona uendetta, et non passarono molti giorni, che senti la donna darli un gran' colpo nell coll(o) senza ueder alcuna persona, et subito si ammalo si grauem^te: che la tenniano per morta, et gia non parlaua, ne(n) faceua alcun' mouim^to : Il figiolo magiore, che ancora era gentile, corsi con molta fretta a chie derai medio al Padre, il qual gli mando il suo reliquiario per Alessio xpiãno, et ponendolo sopra il petto dell' infirma subit(o) torno en si, et lomãdo,che cosa era quella, che l' haueua touata ; et finalm^te ; ricebe perfetta sanità dando gratie al Signore, che la libero dalla potestà del Dem^o : , et perche ancora l' anima restasse libera, determino di far(si) xpiãna, et a desso va imparãdo il cathechismo, Ne fu minore il mouim^to : che fece qsto miracolo nel figlio maggiore, perche subito comincio a impara la dot-

trina, et il giorno dell' Assutione della B. Vergine, si bath(eo, et) ua auanti con molto feruore, udindo messa ogni giorno, et recitando due o tre rosarii, il che so potra uedere dal caso seguenti, auanti del qual' contero un altro, che prima occorsi. Andaua questo giouane in mala converstione con una donna, dalla qual decideraua la madre di staccarlo; et non potẽdo per nesun' modo, fece uoto alla Vergina Maria, della qual gia haueua alcuna notitia, che gl' infioreria la sua cappella con rose, si il figlio lasciasse qlla mala occasione. Fatto il uoto di tal maniera si moto il cuore del giouane, che gia mai non puose udir nominar qlla donna, il che rigognoscendo la madre per beneficio della Madonna, mando le rose alla chiesa, et gli fu qsto grande motiue per si conuertire. Il caso doque del giouanne, che poco fà diceua, fu qsto.

Alle 23 : di Settẽbre, giorne consecrate a un' Idolo, per nome Anadà, cosumaua Casturu Naiche, è qsti un Signor principal, in corte del qual staua il giouane del qual parliamo, et si chiama Visuada, digiunar, et pigliar un cordone di seta da i Brameni, il qual tutto l' anno portaua legato al braccio, sin' che gli desseri un' altro. Fu Visuada al Palazzo conforme all' oblige che teneua, et gli domãdarono gli Brameni si digiunaua, al che rispose che no, mà essi gli feceuano forza dicẽdo, gia che Casturu digiuna, et è deuoto de Visnu, uoi ancora lo douete essere ; ancorche cento di uoi altri mi predichino, non mi faranno gia mai far cosa contra il douersi: al Naiche nelle cose che toccano al corpo gli seruiro io di molto buona uoglia, ma nelle cose che apartengone all' anima, non e egli mio signore ; ei si mi comãda cose alcuna contra qlla non l' ho da far ber niun' caso. Dissero all' hora i Brameni al Naiche, che non era ragione, che Visuada stesse in sua casa, ne uedesse mai la sua faccia, perche rinegaua gli Dei dicẽdo di piu (), che era molto graue peccato i mirar nella faccia di Visuada, al che eghi rispose, anzi a mi parce che è grande peccato i mirar nella uostra, che di certo hauete d' andar' a casa del Dem° : ; ignorano che non sapete niente. Occorsero molte altre particolarità, nelle quali si prouo la constanza di qsto giouane, et principalmente coi nom uoler riceuere in neuna maniera il nuouo cordon di Visnu, che Casturu gli daua ; anzi dicẽdogli il Naiche che era di qllo dell' anno passato, rispose che l' haueua fatto in pezzi. et gittato per terra.

Il mese di Giuglio di 608. stãdo nel principio della notte un' Mahomettano con altra gente, tra quali èra il xpiãno chiamato Alberto, apparece al ditto mahomattano il Dem° : in figura humana, et il timor, con che resto ispantado ben'

mostro qual qual fusse la uisione, et dicendole al christiano che iui staua, egli li fece nella fronte il segno della S^ta^ croce, il che fatto il Dem^o^: con molta colera gli disse, con esta arma che ti diede quell' huomo ti ua bie, d' alra maniera io pigliaua hora vendetta di se domandogli il Mahomettano, di chi era quell' arma; al che rispose il Dem^o^: che era arma di Dio onnipotente, dal qual era stato creato, et il Mahomatt^o^: et egli medesimo, et cio ditto disparece.

Nell' istesse tempo entro il Dem^o^: in un gentile in psza di molti, et arriuãdo la Alberto, in cui tutti riconosceuano poter contra il Dem^o^: lo pregauano che gli fecesse alcune interrogationi. La prima cosa che gli domando fu si qllo che il P. Rub^o^: insegnaua era uerità, et si era uero maestro. Rispose il Dem^o^: che il Padre era huomo di grande autorità et che qllo che insegnaua tutto era uverità. Demãdo di piu il xpiãno si qllo che il Padre haui i cominciato anfaria uanti al che rispose, che nel principio farebbe poco ma che dipoi di tre anni farebbe molto, et che l' impsa che haueua comincia-(to) anderebbe in grande aumento del che tutti retarono marauigliati, et bem puol' essere, che il padre de la mentiyra dicesse il uero del progresso di qsta missione, come p forza lo disse della uerità, et bontà della dottrina del Padre.

In Agosto de 608. uenne un' gentile per si catechizare di bel giuditio, et tal si mostro subito nelle cose della nra santa Fede dandogli tanto credito, che non, che non uolse mai piu por cenice nella fronte, ne conxentir che tre figlioli suoi se la ponessero, facẽdo grand' instanza al Padre che lo battizasse subito. Ma il Padre per far proua della sua costanza gli prolango il tempo. Continuo il gentile con le prediche del Padre, della quali si seruiua poi per disputar con li gentili. Cadde qsto huomo infermo, et con i figli insieme, et ume alcuni dicono entro il Dem^o^: nel maggior di loro; et uenẽdo i Brameni con cenice per far le sue superstitioni, li butto il buon catecumeno fuora di casa et mando achiedere alcun' reimedio al Padre, dicẽdogli che qsto era inuentione del Dem^o^; ma che egli staua de(ter)minato, di piu tosto morir, che far cosa che fusse () alla legge del uero Dio. Il Padre mando la Aless(o) con l' acqua benedetta, ei con l' euãg^o^: di S. Jiou^e^: scritto, con la qual medicina se gli fu la febre, et restaron(o) tutti sani, et certificati della uerità della nra S^ta^. Fede.

In una lrã, che il P. Rub^o^. mi scrisse alli 25. d' Ottobre di 608. diceua. Un Raggiu molto nobile, il quale mostra essere di 40. anni, uenne molte notte alla porta della mia casa con

grande sentimento, et parlãdo con il patron di quel piano, gli disse, che gia era uechio, et che la sua morte era uicina; p cio lo pgaua con grãnde instanza che lo uolesse far parlar con il mio interprete, accio l' introducesse a parlar meco per poter esser mio discepo(lo) e sẽdo che molti gli diceuano in qsta città, che io insegnaua la legge dell' eterna salute. Finalm^te: io lo fe-entrar et egli gittandosse alli miei piedi con molta deuotione mi scoperse li suoi desiderii, iqual i erano di essere incamin(ato) per il uero sentero della salute. Parlai con questo uechio molto tempo parendome di buon' ingegno, et pruden(za) et la conclusione fu, che udisse il Cathechismo, et promisse, de cosi lo farebbe, et insieme procurerebbe che molti (al)tri Rgiu, che stanno sotto di lui fussero suoi discepoli.

Un altro Balàla maestro con extraordinario feruor mi venne a pregare che lo insegnasse. Credo che senza dubbio n(on) hauerebbe V. R. potuto ritener le lagrime, ueggendo con quanta deuotione qsto gentile le spargeua, quando stãdo prostrate aali mei piedi caldam^te: mi pregauache lo saluasse. Al psẽte ua udindo il catechismo, et forma buon conce(tto) delle cose di Dio N. S.

Hora daro conto di qual che soccesse a Badamurti signor di qsto piano, nel qual io habito, il qual' gia era catecumen(o). Alli 23. d'Ottobre di 608. doppo pranso pesse in tutto la parola. Fui io a sua casa, et lo ritrouai che staua in agon(ia) de morte. Subito lo battizai, et di li a poco tempo si leuo in piedi, et abraciando li miei piedi con molte de(uo)tione disse, che a Dio, et a me devea la uita. Et aggiunse che stauano iui alcuni huomini, che serian(o) Demonii, de quali uno lo uoleua strãgolare, et non gli lasciaua formar parola, un' altro gli rompeua le gamb(e) un' altro gli diceua che la finisse presto per lo poter leuar uia. Staua il pouerello in qsto trauaglo, et contras(te) quando io giunse; ma con la uirtu del S^to legno, che gli posi al collo, et dell' acqua benedetta, subito li Demon(ii) fuggirono. Resto egli molto debole, et fiacco, con la gola tanto indebolita, che non poteua dir parola, et facẽd(o) mi di cio cenno gli feci il segno della s^ta croce sopra la gola, et subit ocomincio parlar, et io gli dissi (che) gia l' haueua battizato, al che ripose, che molto ben lo sapeua, et che qlla era la sua uolontà. Torno hier' l' altr(i) di nuouo a star male, fui a dir messa p lui, et quãdo la cominciaua mi dissero, che staua spirãdo, et finindo io la messa mi diedero nuoua, che gia staua bene, come hora sta senza fẽbre, et hoggi venne à udir messa. Ha posta nelle mie mani tutta la sua famiglia, accio li dia il s^to battesimo, nella qual stanno piu di

uen(te) persone. Egli è huomo di tanto credito, et stima, che speriamo p suo mezo si conuertino molti a Dio N. S., Sino aq la del P. Rub° Dipoi della quale mi scrisse dell' altre, dandomi ragguaglio di qllo che Dio N. S. fu oprando, et pche p le sue ist() si intẽdera piu chiara, et distintam": il tutto, li porro q disteram°: nella maniera che stanno.

Copia di una Lettera del P. Ruberto Nobili al P. Prou": del Malauare de 24. di Decẽbre 1608.

Sono obligato a dar sempre cònto a V. R. di qllo che Dio N. S. uao prãdo in qsta nuoua missione. Gia scrissi, come dipoi (la) partita di V. R. di qsta città nel fin di settembre haueua battizato quatro persone; cio è Badamurti che è il signor di qsto piano, doue sta la mia casa, al quali trio diede la sanità miracolosam": Christinada, che è un, maestro statuario, che faceua Idoli, et altri lauori, molto eccelle(nte) nella sua arte, et dal Naiche, et da tutti i signori di Madu(rei) molto stimato. Il 3°: fu il nro giouane Golor frẽllo del portinaio maggior del Naiche. Il 4°: fu un huomo nobile che V. R. non lo conosce, per non l' hauer uisto nel tempo, che quiui stette. Adesso nel giorno dell' Apto S. Tomaso battizai noue; cioe li tre frẽlli di Badamurti, et due suoi figlioli. Il Calistu che uenne a udir una pdica del Catechismo, quãdo qui staua V. R., il quale mostraua molto feruore, et con lui battezai' il padre, et due suoi figlioli, un' picciole di cinque, o 6. anni; et un' altro maggiore. Il Calistu, et suo padre, essẽdo ancora gentili erano molto deuoti dell' Idoli, et sue ceremonie, et tanto che dicendo Calistu, à suo padre, che haueua parlato un esso meco, et che io insegnaua una legge spiritual, la qual gli parecia la uera; dissegli il uecchio, che non sapeua cosa alcuna, et che egli parlerebbe con esso meco, et mi conuincerebbe, et mi farebbe (). Venne il buon uechio accompagnato dal suo figliolo, et ancorche nel proncipio uolse argumẽtare, et disputare, resto non () cosi appagato delle ragioni, che io gli diedi della legge di Dio, che mi apporto grandissima consolatione il ueder qnto concorre Dio N. S. con qsta gente. et cosi fu continuãdo egli con il suo figliolo in udir le prediche con tanto feruor, et formarino si buon concetto delle cose di Dio, che mi obligarono a non gli differir il S^to: battesimo. Il uecchio essẽdo gẽtile teneua una casa solam": palbergar' li pellegrini, nella qual teneua un Pãdara, accio lesse acoua a tutti li pasaggieri...

XXIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 16th, 1610.)

No Collegio de S. Thomé em Meliapor foy estes anos Reitor o P. Nicolao Leuãto co satisfação, e era may accepto à qlle Prelado, q se mostra nosso amigo; e a el rey de Bisnagá e a toda aqlla corte; e teue sẽmpre muy bom cuidado de conseruar aqllas Residecias de Vellur, e Chandrigri; Agora o P. Visit^{or}. fez Reitor da qlle Collegio ao P. Simão de Sà, o qual nhum talento tẽ p^{a} isso, e bem o (tẽ demos)tado. Entendo ha de padecer m^{to}. a qlle Collegio ẽ tudo, e na disciplina religiosa, e ainda na amizade co a Bpo, por não gostar do modo do Prẽ, q não he p^{a}. isso, e por este respeito no ano passado lhe tiramos o cuidado da casa de Negapatão...

Cochim. 6. de Decẽbro de 610.

D. V. P.

Minimo f^{o} ẽ Chro

+

ABLERTO LAERCIO

XXX

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1609

(1610.)

Quod ad D. Thomae Collegium spectat scimus Reverendissimum Meliaporensem ducemque et Senatum Civitatis a Patre Collegii Rectore, quem apud Regem Bisnagarum gratiosum esse sciunt, multis precibus contendisse, ut eundem Regem adiret, et ab eo impetraret litteras ad Ginianum Dynastam, quibus ageretur de Olãdensibus ex sua dictione rejiciendis: illos enim amice exceperat, et portum quo appellerent, locumque in quo arcem aedificarent, illis concesserat: qui quidem minime segnes arcem extruere jam incipiebant. Quae res si processisset, grãde certo malum Lusitanis et Xnis. omnibus pervenire potuisset. Non potuit Pater nec debuit tam officiosum laborem recusare. Regem adit, litteras impetrat, eas ad ipsummet Dynastam defert; benigne atque

honorifice ab eo excipitur; de postulatis serio cum ipso agit, res difficilis videbatur, propter non modicum lucrum quod ex novorum hospitum commercio ille se percepturum sperabat, prohinde Patrem bene sperare jubendo, responsionem differebat. Interim Rex cum videret Patrem diutius in ea quasi legatione immorari, causam morae suspicatus, suopte ingenio impulsus alias litteras, non sine increpatione ingeminat, Dynastae imperat ut Patris postulata faciat, et omnino Lusitanorum hostem a se repellat; si portum quem illis dederat frequentari vellet, eum traderet Lusitanis, quos utiliores amicos quam Olandenses esset habiturus, His ille acceptis litteris, Patrem accersit, velle se dicit Regis voluntati satisfacere, quaeque postulabantur concedere. Illico ad Episcopum, ducem et Senatum D. Thomae dat litteras; ad quos etiam cum patre legatos mittit, ut cum illis de adeunda Portus illius possessione ac frequentatione agant: conditionem apponit ut Pater Rector cum Lusitanis ad ejus portus traditionem revertatur. Ita fit. Designatur qui futurus sit dux inceptae ab Olandēsibus arcis, illis alio amandatis. Qui ducem comitarentur milites conscripti sunt; dona que ad Dynastam deferrentur praeparata. Denique res solemniter acta est. Jacta erant arcis fundamenta et parietes ad aliquatulam undequaque altitudinem excreverant. Erat ingens calcis, laterumque copia; nam ex lateribus arcem extruebant. Unus illis sacerdos ex Nostris remansit, quae una est ex Residentiis quibus in principio diximus auctam hoc anno fuisse Proviciam. Locus Tavanapatnam appellatur, unde copiousum Deo volente fructum speramus.

XXXI

SOME EXTRACTS OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, ... 8th, 1611.)

(A quotation from a Letter of Fr. Roberto de Nobili, dated Madura, December, 12th, 1610.)

Iddio p sua misericordia uá ogni giorno agiuntando noue pecorelle al suo ovile, distrugendo il culto del Demonio, como diceua un Pandara d'autorità ad un xpāno, che la uenuta del Re di Bisnagá a Madure era distruttione del Naiche, et il star mio in questa terra era destruttione de Pandarj.....

(A quotation from another letter of Fr. de Nobili dated Madura, November 22nd, 1610.)

In questa Città di Madure ha Molti Studj ne quali uanno piu di dieci mile studentj Bramanj, diuisi p uarij maestrj a chi ducenti, et a chi trecenti, et p migliore studiare, et darse in tutto alle scientia, Il Re di Bisnaga, et Il Naiche della Città hanno fondatj uarij collegij con molte buone rendite, p sustentam(ẽto) dei Maestrj et studentj mentre studiano; nẽ (solo) del uitto má anco de uestire pse, et loro case se cho mentre studiano; no anno hanno altre pensiero che le sue biuo, ma in tutto il necessario son prouedutj dalle rendite di Collegij. Quel che legone et Insegnano sono cose molto uarie, p che hanno molte dottrine. Primieram^{te}. fanno alcunne questionj proemialj, como de Argumẽtatione, de Scientia, de Euid^{a}. et fide, et copia queste quatro cose se stende la lore filosofia, percio ché in quaesto medesimo trattamo piu diffusamẽte dividndo la filisofia che esti chiamãno, chinta manj, che uol dire agiuntamete, o coc () de pensieri et arg^{ti} intra Capi, nel P^{o}. é de Euidentia et qui riducono questo questionj., De Inuocatione seu Adoratione Vtrum sit initio operis aliquis Deus inuocandus,. De Certitudine, De bona sev pfecta certitudine, De Certitudine qua habemus p generationẽ productione de nouo De formalitate certitudin's. De speciebus Objector, De Vnione locali, seu p contiguitatẽ, et De Vnionibus diuersis, Id est formali, accidentali, et aliã quãdã quã no percipio, quia no est ex subst^{a}. et natura. De Praedicato et Subjecto p negationẽ; De objecto uisibili seu visus. De indiuisibilitate uolutatis. De Splendore Auri. De Actus reflexione quo quisq se cognoscit, et intelligit. Queste sono le questionj che nel P^{o}. Capo de Euid^{a}. trattano, há alcune altre ma p la strettella del tẽpo no le posso p se()an^{te}. uedero. Nel 2^{o} Capo che é de Scientia trattano le sequenti questioni. De Signis Illationis. De Sequella tãtu, De Inductione. De fallentia. De Semine fallentiae seu de modo impugnandi fallentiã. De subiecto, De discursu. De Signo causatiuo. De omnimoda fallentia. De Coniunctione secudu quid. De Priuatione. De effectu p causã. De omnimoda coniunctione. De Vlti^{a}. Certitudine seu consequentia. De causa, De euidentj probatione. De certitudine a Simili. De errore. De dubitatione. De Variatione suppositionis. Ex uero Antecedente de falsa conclusione. De Deo Ruden. De Multiplictate causar. De Naturali vi, et virtute, de sup addita de nouo Virtute Nel 3^{o}. capo che é de Auctoritate seu auditu, trattano queste questioni cio é De Correspondentia Verbor De Conueniẽtia in Communj. De Vnione affectionis,

De Desiderio. De Corruptione Sonj. De Corruptione totius mudi. De Merito Legis. Quod no est utru possit affirmarj. De Nouitate. De Annihilatione. De Propria impositione, et Deniq, quo modo debeat esse signu. Queste sono le questionj du una dottrina sola che loro insegnano, la qle finiscono in 4. e 5. anni. Di piu hanno altre cinque molto piu diffuse altre la Scienta che chiamano Vedãdam oue trattano de Deo, et eius Vnitate...

(*Another quotation of a letter of Fr. Antonio Vico companion of Fr. de Nobili, relating the fruit of the latter's life and preaching. Fr. Vico's letter is dated Madura, December 24th, 1610. It runs as follows:*)

Haura giá due mesi che uenne qui un Regolo tributario del Naiche grande p Nome Vttapa Naiche di buonissima natura et desideroso di saluarse ; Questo in arriuando all aposento dell' Aier si prostro con la faccia in terra nẽ se leuo dali insinche due, e tre uolte il Padre no gli lo dicesse. Ragiono depoi col Padre dalle miserie di Questa uita, et certeza della morte, et nel fine prego con molta instanza il Padre uolese venire alle sue terre, p che in ogni modo uoleua riceuere la sua dottrina...

XXXII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A missão de Bisnagá tem a sua conta o P. Ant°. Rubino depois da morte do bom P°. Belchior Coutinho, e agora lhe dey por comp°. o P. Ant°. Diaz. Esperamos uenha cá o P. Visitad°r. pá lhe aplicaremos outros dous P°s. e buscaremos todos os modos pá se colher desta missão o fruito q' se deseja, o qual este anno foy m'°. menos, por el Rey for ja muito velho, e doente, e ter intregue o gouerno á huã das molheres, e a seu Irmão della, os quaes nuca se mostrarão amigos dos Prẽs. e m'°. menos dos Portugueses, a mas agora fizerão guerra a Cidade de Meliapor tendoa de cerco algus meses, de modo q' foy necess'°. recolherẽse os nossos P°s. e moços ao Coll°. de S. Thomé até se faserem os concertos e as amizades. Quando foy uisitar Ceilão em Junho passado achey o P. Ant° Rubino em Columbo, onde pgara as sestas feiras de Coresma co m'°. satisfaçao da quella Cidade, onde tinha ydo á requerimento do seu Rey de Bisnagá (que lhe não puderão negar) co seus embaixadores, q̃ elle mandou ao Gouern°r. D. Jero-

nimo pª lhe uender algus elefantes, como o P. Leuanto informara á V. P., mas como nada se affeituou, o P. não tinha ja aly que fazer, e torney leuar comigo até S. Thomé, onde o deixey no mez de Agosto, pera q tãto q̃ el Rey concluisse os concertos e amizades co a Cidade, q̃ se esperaua seria cedo, se tornasse a Vellur co o P. Antº. Diaz continuar a sua missão...

Cochy. 25. de Nouembro 1611.

D. V. P.

Indº. fº em xº.

+

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A, cerca do q̃ escreuerão da compra dos Elefãtes del Rey de Bisnagá mostrey o capitolo da carta de V. P. ao P. Leuanto, q̃ está agora aqui descãcando neste Collegio ; e elle responderá, e enformara de tudo o q̃ nisso o ue ; Pore nhuã cousa ovue nisso menos decente, mas antes tudo se fez cq̃ muita edificação, e são meos muy neceſº. e q̃ à Compª custão pouco, pera estes Reys gentios se affeiçoarẽ a nossas couzas, e permitirẽ co facilidade, q̃ em suas terras se prègue a ley de Ds...

Cochim. 25. de Nouembro, de 611

D. V. P.

Ind. fº em x.

+

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

Questo anno andando a uisitare la Prouincia el mese di Maggio, arrivando sino a Meliapor che hé longè daquesta Città ducente leghe, e raccogliendomj en aquesto Collegio a 22,

de 7bré non potei passar per Madurej, e consolarme con aquelli Pdrij e cristianj, come haueua determinato, impedito dalla guerra che haueua frá il Naiche di Madure, et il di Nagapatano...

di Cocino a 25 di 9bré 1611.

D. V. P.

Ind°. f°. in x°

+

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXV

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1611

(1612.)

Velluranae et Chandragirinensis Residentiae vacant in praesentiarum. Quo enim tempore Patres in Collegio convenerant ut spiritum renovarent, et mutuis colloquis se ad divinum servitium magis accenderent, Badagae bellum Lusitanis intulerunt, et D. Thomae urbem obsidione premere coeperunt, Causa fuit cupiditas pecuniarum. Dum enim Rex jam nimium senex stupet, qui regnum administrant quidquid libet licere sibi arbitrantur. Regis nomine ingentem pecuniarum summam a D. Thomae civibus postulavere; recusarunt illi tam insolitam exactionem; recusantes armis aggrediuntur. Illi contra armis se defendunt, in armis sunt utrique, illi urbem oppugnant ut eam depraedentur, isti propugnant ut suas res tueantur, Hostium jam permulti, ex Lusitanis etiam nonnulli sunt occisi. P. Rubinus Ri. Episcopi et Magistratum rogatu cum duobus civibus ad tyrannum missus est ut de pace ageret. Sed quia postulatas pecunias secum non deportarunt, comprehensi sunt et in vinculis tenentur. Quem finem res habitura sit ignoramus.

XXXVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES

(St. Thome, November 29th, 1617.)

Ouue por bẽ a Sãta obed°. depois de 4. anos de tirarme a carrega q̃ tinha deste Coll°. do q̃ diu particulares graças ao Senhor. As guerras deste Reino de Bisnagà uão tomãdo bom

termo, porq o menino legitimo successor da coroa uai cada dia mais alcãçãdo maiores uictorias, e os messes passados cortou a cabeca a Jagaraiu seu cotrario. aleuãtouse ẽ seu lugar hu Ir. seu por nome Etiraiu, mas no pode resistir ao poder de menino por onde se crè, q̃ ẽ breue sara coroado, e a nossa missao se tornarà a renouar...

De S. Thome os 29. de 9bro de 1617.

D. V. R.

Minimo Seruo e o Senhor.

ANT°. RUBINO.

XXXVII.

MEMORIAL AGAINST THE JESUITS OF VIJAYANAGARA, AND SPECIALLY AGAINST THOSE OF CHANDRAGIRI

Que em Chandegri Corte D'Elrey de Bisnaga reside hum religioso da Comp^a^ e dous em Velur, que he outro lugar onde este Rey custuma estar m^s^. p^es^. do tempo, que nestas duas p^tes^. nao hà conuersão, nem Christãos, mais que tres ou quatro moços, que seruem a estes religiosos, e que o fim principal que tem nq^tes^. duas terras hè acquirir rendas pera sy como ya tem em Meliapor mais de cinco mil pardaos cada anno sendo os religiosos que aly residem tres sacerdotes, e dous yrmãos; que servem mais estes religiosos na Corte daquella Rey de atrauessarem tudo quanto ha atè as pelles pera as botas, e canas de palanquins, que atè nestas meudezas poem estanque. Que seruem em lugar de pregação euangelica de andar falando a Vontade dos Brancanes, e Jogues, que sam os Sacerdotes, e penitentes entre aquelles gentios. E de por seu meo acquirirem o que pretendem, porque todos os religiosos da comp^a^. que andão por aq^tes^. costa, aprendem a lengoa não pera pregarẽ a ley Euangelica (que o não fazem) se não pera por este meo, com mais segredo se comunicarem com aquelles gentios, e acquirirem rendas para sy, e não pera pregarẽ a fè, E conuerterem almas porque o não fazem e se S Magestade tem outra informação he eriada, que tem chegado a tanto dasaforo da ley Christam, que em Velur, onde ficaua, El Rey de Bisnaga, tem hum Irmão Italiano que se chama Fuente buena, o qual hè pintor de profissam e se ocupa em pintar ao Rey gentio suas molheres nuas abraçadas com elle em tanques de agoa, e em actos deshonestos, pintalle mais os seus idolos fazendo retratos desta calidade somente por enganarẽ ao Rey, elhe ganharẽ a vontade com estas pinturas pera que lhes dé rendas como

faz sem resp^to^. algum a Christandade, e a saluação das almas, mais que a seus interesses particulares, Què isto he o q̃ fazem na Corte, e terras d'El Rey de Bisnaga, nas q^les^. residem ha onze annos, e que atè o prezente nam tem conuertido a fé huã alma, nẽ pregarão a ley Euangelica em suas terras, mas acquirirão m^ta^. renda pera sy, a fora o que interessão em seus tratos, e mercancias.

Que em Meliapor tem feito poucos xpaos os que há se conuertem por meo da comunicação, e familiaridade do seruiço dos Portugueses, e que não hé necessario pregarlhes pera que se conuertão, porque com facilidade o fazem, e os mais dos que ally há conuertidos por pregação os conuerterão os Frades de S. Francisco que ha m^tos^. annos residem naquella cidade.

Hua das igreias de xpaos da terra, que nos arrebaldes da dita cidade está encomendada aos Religiosos da Comp^a^. hé a da Madre de Deos na qual com auer Bispo, e Pastor, e elles seus Vigairos não querem q̃ Esteia debayxo de iurisdição do dito Bispo mais que pera pagar ordenados, e por ella de tudo e no mais, querẽ que os xpãos seyao izentos do dito Bispo e do seu Vigairo geral, e que não visite, mas que chrisme. E assy há de dar conta a Deos destas ouelhas, e os religiosos ao de seruerse delas e trosqueallas, e pera isto não ha de ser Prelado, de sorte que por não se entenderẽ seus intentos que todos uão ordenados a interesse não querem que ninguem entenda com causa, que estè ye a sua conta. E esta foi a causa principal de o Bispo de Cochim os lançar fora de Costa de Pescaria.

Em m^tos^ partes desta Costa auião xpãos que estauão a conta destes religiosos desimpararão os mais dẽlles por os senhores da terra lhe não darem m^ta^. renda e os não deyxarem foi o de Tauanapatão, e outro o de porto nouo, que sam os que de nouo pedem os Hollandeses ao Naique de Giga E com isto ham dado estes Religiosos grandes occasioes de escandalos, e de hauerem deyxado a fe catholica muytos rezem baptizados por lhe faltarem os mynistros da conuersão, e que lhes dissẽ o pasto spiital das almas neste estado se achou aquelle B'pado. E foi necessario ao Bispo Valerse dos seus Clerigos, e com elles prouer logo os postos que os Religiosos da Comp^a^. desempararão.

Estes Religiosos tratam somente de seu interesse fugindo as occasioes de trabalhos, e Martyrio, fundãose em acquirir tudo quanto podem, e então enganão a S. Mag^de^. escreuendo que tem conuersão na Corte d' El Rey de Bisnaga e Nar-

singa, e fazem que sua Mag^de. he escreua cartas de agradecim^to. por dar boa colheita a estes Religiosos em suas terras, e fauorecelhos no ministerio da conuersão, e então tresladão a carta de S. Mag^de. em suas ollas, e lingoa da terra como querem acrecentando lhe e diminuindo o que faz a seu proposito e dão a El Rey a olla em sua lingoa e a carta de S. Mag^de. e a dos Visoreys ficalhes no escritorio, e assy metem ao Rey na cabeça mil torres de Vento; e da mesma maneyra escreuen a S. Mag^de. o que conuem a seu proposito e firmão a carta com a chapa do Rey porque por hum real que dem ao seu criado que tem a chapa, e firma d' El Rey lha deyxara abrir trinta uezes quanto mais assynar cartas em tudo o que se diz se fala a uerdade a S. Mag^de. porque hé obrigação de o desenganar, e ña seus minystros, das mentiras, e embusda yndia, pedindo se lhe com toda a ynstancia mande acodir a estes religiosos com reformação muy estreita, e mande que se recolhão as cidades, e lugares pouoados de Portugueses, porque affrontão com seu modo de negoçear o nome xpão.

Do que passa na Costa da Pescaria se podera saber por Via do Bispo de Cochin, q̃ anda conquistando estes Religiosos ha dous annos, e o que fazem na China polla do Bispo de Macão e o mais se diz dos outros. O Bispo de Mellapor sofre q^to pode porque não aya dar entender a estes xpos rezem baptisados, e a os infiẽis, que há diuisão na ig^ra. de Deos por estes Religiosos buscão com suas conservatorias occasioes cada dia de noua schysma e tem posto todo aquelle estado até a China em grande balanço.

Deue S. Mag^de. supplicar ao s^to. P. mande reuogar todos os Breues, e Bullas, que as Religioes mendicantes, e os da Comp^a. tem pera tomarem Conseruadores, e que elles e suas causas fiquem sogeitas aos ordinarios nos termos do d^to. commum, porque se assy se não fizer se há de perder a Christandade da yndia, e hão de crecer muy depressa mais schysmas, que em Hollanda, e em Inglaterra S. Mag^de. porque he deue mandar acodir a reformar estes Religiosos, e prouer neste seu modo de proceder se não ser lhe ha necessario m^to. cedo mandar a yndia cabedal pera conquistar os Religiosos da Camp^a. e não se sabe se bastara porq̃ tem mais d^ro. q̃ S. Mag^de. e nele estribão.

Tambem se lembra a S. Mag^de. que conuem m^to. a seu seruiço e tanto como não auer olandeses na yndia mandar que de Cochim até Maluco em toda a Costa, e terra firme não aya Religiosos da Comp^a. estrangeiros e os que ouuer

seyam Portugueses, Castelhanos, e Gallegos, e nenhua outra nação pq̃ue não conyẽ ao serviço de Deos, e de S. Mag^{de}. auer esta gente por aquellas p^{tes}. e terras, se hè seruido que se não p(erez)ca aq^{l}. Christandade e o estado da yndia.

Dos mais Religiosos não hà queixa de que se auize a S. Mag^{e}. mais q̃ de serem todos m^{tos}. pobres e que fazem o que deuẽ som^{te}. se descuidão em aprender a lingoa da terra, porẽ se ouuer de ser p^{a}. se aproueitarem della como os da Comp^{a}. milhor será que a não saibão.

Antonio Viles decima.

APPENDIX D

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE R. C. DIOCESE OF MYLAPORE (MADRAS)

I

NOTICIA DESTE BISPADO DE MAILAPUR.

Nao podendo o Snr Bispo de Cochim D. Fr. Andres & visitar por si todo o seu Bispado por ser muito extenso requereo a seu soberano sobre este ponto. Este era então o Snr D. Filipe 3. Rey de Hespanha, e de Portugal postulou ao Papa Paulo 5. erecçao do Bispado de Mailapur desmembrando-o do de Cochim. O Papa conhecendo a justiça da postulação no dia 9 de Janr° de 1606 erigio a Igreja de S. Thome de Mailapur em Cathedral em ms°. dia creou para Bispo da ms°. a D. Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro da Ordem dos Eremitas de S. Ag°. porque o d°—Snr. Rey assim lho pedia. Tudo isto e mais consta da Acta Congregationis Consistorialis habitae die 9 Januarii an. 1605 coram Paulo 5. cuja copia authentica se conserva nesta Camara Ecclesiastica.

Paceficamt°. o Snr D. Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro depois desta dismembracao tomou posse e governou este Bispado (en tpo bem critico para os dominios de Portugal por estarem debaixo do captiveiro de Hespanha; neste tropelle se mostrou Portuguez, pois conquistando os Hollandezes, què se rebelarao contra Hespanha, muitos dominios Portuguezes na India por serem então sugeitos a Hespanha, não conquistarão Sadras, e S. Thome, porque o d. S. Bispo a sua custa fez tropas, e as defendeo dos Hollandezes. Deixo o mais que posso dizer deste Snr. Bispo q̃ pela Religiao e pelo seu Rey obrou.

Roll bearing the following heading: " *Correspondencias e requerimentos dos Capuchinhos a Madrasta e questao sobre o fundo da Egreja Etc: desde o anno de 1794 ate 1821 e resumidos no Cathalogo geral pelos segnites N°s....*" *No. 5109.*

II

COPIA DO MAIS ESENCIAL DA BULLA DA ERECCAO DO BISPO DE S. THOME

Determinacao da Audiencia do SSm°. P°. Papa Paulo 5.; e seos Emminentissimos Cardeaes no dia 9 de Janr°. 1606: pela qual separa da Diocese de Cochim, toda a Costa de Coromandel, (Nota:—nesta se inclue Madras) Reynos de Bengalla, Oriza, e Pegu erigindosse em Cathedral a Igreja de S. Thome de Maylapur a Instancia do Rey de Portugal,

Hoje o Sm°. em Christo P°., e Snr nosso Paulo por Divina Providencia Papa 5. na Sua Audiencia Secreta, como he costume, attendendo a representação, do Eminentissimo Eduardo Cardeal Fernesse por parte do Serenissimo Rey Catholico de Portugal, e dos Algarves Philipe 2. conheceo ser m^to^. interessãte instituir huma Igreja Cathedral, e Diocese na Costa Maritima de Coromandel na India Oriental, Reynos de Bengalla, Orisa, e Pegu & o mesmo Sm°. P°. com pio affecto, e concelho dos Eminentissimos Cardeaes de Apostolica authoridade annuindo benignamente á humilde supplica do supraditto Rey de Portugal, e p^a^. gloria do Omnipotente Deos, e da Gloriosissima Sempre Virgem Maria, e do Benaventurado Apostolo S. Thome, a pa a Gloria de toda a Igreja Triunfante, e exaltação de Fè, na lembranca de q̃ o Corpo do Apostolo S. Thome se depositou na Cidade de Maylapur, instituio com a invocação do Apostolo S. Thome em Cathedral a Igreja da mesma Cidade de Maylapur . . . S. Santidade perpetuamente concedeo, e asinou, como tambem ao sobred°. Rey concedeo o Direito de Padroado de ditta Diocese, e aos seos futuros successores, como Administradores da Ordem de Christo no espiritual, e temporal com poder de apresentar a Sua Santidade, e aos Romanos Pontifices Seos Successores pessoas idoneas para a Dignidade Episcopal, e Governo da Diocese de S. Thome de Maylapur . . .

Dada em Roma nas Casas da Costumada Residencia do Sm°. P°. Paulo 5. do Anno do Senhor 1606 aos 9 dias do mes de Janeiro do pr°. anno do Seo Pontificado.

Roll bearing the following heading : " *Cartas e correspondencias officiaes do Sr Arcebispo D' Amorim Pessoa com o Vigario Geral de Meliapor P^e^. B. F. Amarante sobre a administracao dessa diocesa e algumas correspondencias dos P^es^. capucinhos da Madrasta sobre jurisdiccao etc; de 1813-a 1866 e resumidos em Cathalogo geral do N-3738-a 3799 F. D* " ; *No. 8749.*

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